SCHMITZ AND ZUMPT'S
CLASSICAL SERIES.

LIVY

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The numerous advantages which this series possesses have secured for it the unqualified approbation of almost every one to whom it has been submitted. From among several hundred recommendations, with which they have been favored, the publishers present a few from the following eminent scholars and practical teachers.

From PROF. J. F. RICHARDSON, *Madison University, Oct.* 27, 1849.

I gave the Grammar at once a very careful examination, and have no hesitation in saying that, for the use of school and college classes, I consider the work superior to any other Latin Grammar in our language with which I am acquainted. I have already directed one of my classes to purchase copies of it. I shall also introduce in the course of the year your edition of Virgil and probably also that of Cæsar, both of which I prefer to any others as text books for our classes.

From PROF. J. J. OWEN, *Free Academy, New York, Aug.* 31, 1849.

I am highly pleased with your excellent publications of the above series, and as an evidence of the estimation in which I hold them, on my recommendation, your Virgil has been adopted as a text-book in the Free Academy in this city. I shall be happy to commend your series to all with whom I may have any influence.

From PROF. J. B. HUDSON, *Oberlin College, O., Oct.* 12, 1850.

I have examined the series of Elementary Classics published by Lea & Blanchard, and take great pleasure in saying that I regard them as admirably adapted to secure the object proposed. The text is a highly approved one and the typography has been rarely excelled in works of this sort for clearness and beauty. I have detected fewer mistakes in the printing and punctuation of these books than in almost any works of a similar character that I have seen. The maps too are a great help—an indispensable one indeed to the great majority of students who have no ancient atlas—in understanding the geographical allusions contained in the text. The selection of notes is judicious; and the whole design and execution of the series commend it to the notice of those who wish to become independent and self-relying scholars.

From PROF. J. PACKARD, *Theological Seminary, Fairfax county, Virginia, March* 22, 1850.

The size of the volume, the beauty and correctness of the text, and the judicious notes, not too copious to supersede the industry of the pupil, seem to me to leave nothing to be desired. I doubt not your enterprise will be rewarded by your editions taking the place of others now in use, to which there are many objections, and I will do what in me lies to promote their circulation.

From PROF. J. S. BONSALL, *Frederick College, Md., March* 18, 1850.

Having used the first three volumes of the series for more than a year, I am free to say, that I prefer them to any school editions of the same authors with which I am acquainted.

From PROF. J. FORSYTH, *College of New Jersey, March* 19, 1850.

I am happy in being able to say that every successive volume has confirmed me in the judgment formed on those first issued, and renews my delight that you have resolved to place the whole of this admirable series of classical authors within the reach of American students. The Grammar is already in use in this college; and I shall cordially recommend our students to procure your editions of such authors as we read.

From T. J. SAWYER, ESQ., *Clinton Liberal Institute, March* 28, 1850.

We have paid them the compliment of making them our text-books and introducing them at once into this institute. In size and price, in design and execution, they seem to me better fitted for schools of this class than any others that have fallen under my observation. A neat and accurate text, and brief, but explicit notes, constitute the principal characteristics of a good classical school book. These distinguish your series, and give them a claim to general diffusion.

From the REV. J. J. SMYTH, A. M., *Sussex Court House, Va., April* 6, 1850.

While at the head of the Petersburg Classical Institute, I introduced your Cæsar, Virgil and Sallust, as being in my judgment the best school editions of these works that I have seen. Since I have been in my present pastoral charge, I have been the means of having the Cæsar and Sallust introduced into two schools in this county. These works are a happy medium between the mere text and the overloaded annotations which render some editions but the clandestine refuge of idle school-boys.

From PRESIDENT MANLY, *University of Alabama, March* 29, 1850.

So far as I may be consulted, or have influence, I shall seek to recommend the use of this well-edited and cheap series, in all the preparatory schools of our region.

From A. W. Pike, Esq., *Kennebunk, Me., December* 14, 1849.

I have examined with much care and high satisfaction, the first five volumes of your edition of Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt's classical series. The plan and execution of the series are excellent. The notes appended to the several authors evince fully the sound judgment and accurate criticism of the learned editors. They are sufficiently copious to meet the *wants* of the student, without, at the same time, by their fulness, encouraging habits of indolence. I have, for more than thirty years, been constantly engaged in teaching the classics, and I have not seen any edition of the Latin authors, usually read in our academies, which I could commend so confidently, as the one you are publishing.

From E. Everett, Esq., *New Orleans, December* 14, 1849.

All these publications are valuable acquisitions to our classical and school libraries. I am particularly pleased with the Virgil; the notes are a store of learning; they furnish the student with such hints on the manners and customs of the Romans as cannot fail to serve as important aids to the study of Roman history, at the same time that they throw new light on the text of the great poet. They seem to me to be model notes: they are neither so copious as to enable the student to dispense with the exercise of judgment and taste, nor so meagre as to leave difficult passages unexplained.

From Thomas Chase, Esq., *Cambridge, Mass., September* 28, 1849.

I take great pleasure in recommending the various volumes of Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series, which have appeared in this country, as admirably adapted for the use of schools. The character of the editors is a guarantee of the accuracy of the text and the correctness of the annotations. The notes are prepared with careful scholarship and nice discrimination, and the amount of information given on historical and grammatical points is sufficient to satisfy the wants of the learner, while it is not so great as to be prejudicial to his habits of study. We have introduced the editions of Cæsar and of Virgil, comprised in this series, into the High School in this city.

From R. B. Tschudi, Esq., *Norfolk Academy, May* 31, 1849.

I received the fourth volume of your classical series and take great pleasure in informing you they have been the text-books recommended in this school since their first appearance. I have found the text and typographical execution equal, and in many respects superior to any other editions that I have seen. But their cheapness is destined to make them take the place of all other school editions. Of course it will take time to assume the place of works already in use, but I believe fully, at no distant day these will be the sole editions in general use.

From A. Morse, Esq., *Nantucket High School, July* 20, 1849.

After a somewhat minute examination of the same, in which I have compared them, line by line, with other editions, edited by different gentlemen, which my classes are now reading, I have no hesitation in giving to the series, edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt, a decided preference to any with which I am acquainted.

From R. H. Ball, Esq., *Northumberland Academy, November* 28, 1849.

This edition of the classics, so far, I greatly prefer to any other I have seen, for the use of schools. It combines the advantages of textual correctness, cheapness, and pre-eminent ability in the annotations, three things especially desirable in school books. I have adopted this series, as far as issued, to the exclusion of all others.

From the Rev. E. A. Dalrymple, *Episcopal High School of Virginia, November* 27, 1849.

I have examined them with some care, and have pleasure in stating that they are judiciously and carefully prepared for the use of schools and colleges. The notes are to the point, and what notes to classical authors should be, not so full as to amount to a translation of the text, or so meagre as to give no satisfactory information to the student. As the best evidence of my approval, I would state that it is my purpose to introduce them, as occasion may arise, into the institution under my direction.

From Z. D. T. Kingsley, Esq., *West Point, N. Y., November* 6, 1848.

I am very much pleased with the Cæsar and Virgil, and presume I shall be equally so with the Sallust. I shall adopt these Latin books for my school.

From Prof. A. F. Ross, *Bethany College, Virginia, December* 7, 1848.

My opinion of the Cæsar you have already had expressed, and I will only add that my interest in the completion of the series has been enhanced by the volumes which you have forwarded me. I shall recommend them for adoption as the standard course in this institution.

Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series—Continued.

From J. S. Bonsall, Esq., *Frederick College, Md., Feb.* 5, 1849.

I have examined them, and find them on all points what the reputation of the eminent editors led me to expect from them, and what they design the books to be.

I know not that I can give you a better proof of the estimation in which I hold them, than by simply saying that I am already using Cæsar and Virgil of the series in my classes, and expect very soon to introduce Sallust.

From Prof. N. L. Lindsley, *Cumberland University, Tenn., Nov.* 22, 1848.

I am very favourably impressed with the merits of Schmitz and Zumpt's classical series. So far as my engagements have permitted me to examine the "Virgil" and "Sallust," I am induced to believe that they are superior to the other editions in common use.

I shall take pleasure in recommending them to teachers and students in this vicinity.

From Prof. Gessner Harrison, *University of Virginia, Nov.* 3, 1848.

I very decidedly approve of the plan of publishing cheap editions of the classics, with brief notes, for the use of schools, and shall recommend this edition to my friends, as suitable for this object.

From Prof. W. S. Tyler, *Amherst College, Mass., Dec.* 25, 1848.

The notes are pertinent and pithy, as well as accurate and learned, and contrast to great advantage with some whose chief recommendation is, that they are designed to atone for the indolence of the student by the supererogatory works of the editor.

From John S. Hart, LL.D., *Central High School, Philadelphia, Dec.* 14, 1848.

I have examined, with much satisfaction, your editions of Virgil and Sallust, being continuations of your reprint of Schmitz and Zumpt's classical series, and take pleasure in renewing the recommendation which I gave to the plan of the series on the appearance of Cæsar, The notes are admirably adapted to the precise wants of the learner, giving in small space all the necessary facilities, without superseding the necessity of diligent and accurate study.

From C. W. Everest, Esq., *Rectory School, Hamden, Ct., Dec.* 7, 1848.

From the brief examination I have been able to give them, I feel very much pleased with them, both as regards the execution of your own part of the plan, and also that of your able editors. Such text-books are much needed. Instead of them, we have been inundated with editions, too often wretchedly printed, and more frequently ruined by a multiplicity of notes. Accept my thanks for your kindness in sending me the works, and be sure I shall be happy to adopt them as text-books in my school.

From Wm. B. Potts, *Orwigsburg, Pa., Nov.* 28, 1848.

I have devoted sufficient time to the examination of your editions of Cæsar, Virgil, and Sallust, to enable me to form an estimate of their respective merits. I do not hesitate to say that the uniformity and cheapness of the works, with the notes of the learned editors, sufficiently illustrative of the style and sentiments of the authors, and yet not so voluminous as to obviate the necessity of careful study on the part of the student, must recommend them to the favourable consideration of those engaged in teaching this interesting branch of literature. We shall certainly adopt this series in the academy.

From Wm. Garnete, Esq., *Norfolk, Va., Nov.* 20, 1848.

I return you my thanks for the copies of Virgil and Sallust sent to me. The professor of languages in the Norfolk academy has introduced them in this school, and we think they will be used in all schools, as soon as known to them. I shall recommend them to all the teachers of my acquaintance.

From Wm. Dennis, Esq., *Wilmington, Del., Nov.* 11, 1848.

I have received the Cæsar and Virgil of the classical series now in course of publication by you, and have for some time been using the Cæsar with a class. I am satisfied that these are better school editions of those authors than any others that I have ever seen.

From G. W. Meeker, Esq., *Chicago, Ill., Jan.* 17, 1849.

I shall be happy to recommend them as the best and most accurate editions of the works I have ever seen.

Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series—Continued.

From PROF. A. S. PACKARD, *Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me., March* 8, 1849.

I cannot refrain longer from communicating to you the highly favourable impression which they have made upon me. I see nothing to desire in the general style of these editions. I know of no others, which for neatness and cheapness, and sufficient helps for the student, surpass them. I am exceedingly pleased with the good taste, clear and precise statements, and sound scholarship, which distinguish the notes. As school classics, I regard them as models.

From PROF. J. FORSYTH, Jr. *College of N. J., Princeton, Feb.* 7, 1849.

I am happy to say that in my judgment the testimonials to the excellence of the series that you have already received are fully deserved. The cheapness and convenient form of these volumes, and especially the character of the notes, make them precisely the kind of text book which I should put into the hand of the young classical student. I shall recommend the students of this college to procure your edition of such of the Latin authors as we are accustomed to read. You have my best wishes for your success in your praiseworthy enterprise.

From PROF. M. L. STOEVER, *Penn. College, Gettysburg, Pa., Jan.* , 1849.

The accuracy of the text, and the judiciousness of the notes, as well as the cheapness of the volumes, render this edition of the classics most deserving of public attention.

From N. BISHOP, Esq., *Supt. of Public Schools, and Principal of High School, Providence, R. I., Nov.* 29, 1848.

I have had the honour of receiving the three first volumes of your "Classical Series." I am much pleased with the *size* of the books, and their *cheapness*; the *correctness* of the text, and the *character* of the notes. I mean, of course, the comparative correctness of the text, as perfect accuracy is rarely attained among us, even in our own language, much less in that of others. I shall take pleasure in recommending your "Classical Series" to all the schools in the vicinity of this city, and shall introduce them into the Classical Departments of our High School at the earliest opportunity for changes in text-books.

From PROF. JOHN WHEELER, *Asbury University, Greencastle, Ia., Dec.* 8, 1848.

As far as I have examined, I am well pleased with them. The notes appear to be what they ought, explanations of difficult passages, and not extended translations, so common and so detrimental to classical attainment. The modest remarks of the editors on disputed passages are worthy of notice and imitation. In these remarks, I refer principally to the edition of Virgil, which I have examined more than the others, and which I consider far superior to any other edition extant in our country. The cheapness of the series is a valuable consideration; and the publishers deserve and doubtless will receive a harvest of thanks from many a student whose intellect and desire of knowledge are superior to his purse.

From A. CAMPBELL, *President of Bethany College, Va., Nov.* 22, 1848.

I have just glanced, with much pleasure, over your edition of Virgil, being the second volume of Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series.

This is just the thing I have long desired to see—a neat, handsome, correct, and cheap edition of the Latin Classics, relieved from the extraneous and unwieldy lore of prosing doctors. The addenda or notes in the margin of this handsome volume are just such as the student needs. The series will doubtless meet with very general favour from all teachers and learners, because of its clear, accurate, and beautiful typography, its general good taste, its cheapness, and its judicious adaptation to the genius and wants of the age.

From CHARLES WHEELER, *Pres. of Rector College, Taylor Cy., Va., Dec.* 1, 1848.

The neatness and beauty, and, as far as I have examined, the correctness of execution, together with the lucid arrangement of the notes, must, I think, commend your editions to public patronage. I am delighted to see *Virgil*, my favourite poet, so handsomely executed. I have recommended your series to our students, as I esteem them worthy of a decided preference.

From CHRISTOPHER MORGAN, Esq. *Sup. Com. Schools, Albany, N. Y., July* 27, 1849.

The high character of the gentlemen who superintend the publication, for deep and varied erudition, is a sufficient guarantee for the correctness of the text. The brief notes are suggestive, rather than translative, and much better than the labored expositions which carry the student along, instead of pointing out the way. The cheapness and convenient size of the books, to say nothing of their literary merit, cannot fail to bring them into general use.

Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series—Continued.

From PROF. JOHN WILSON, *Prep. Dep. Dickinson College, Carlisle, Dec.* 8, 1848

I have examined the three volumes with considerable care, and can give them my unqualified approbation. The plan is judicious, and the execution worthy of all praise. The notes comprise all that a student needs, and all that he should have; and their position at the foot of the page is just what it should be.

From PROF. E. E. WILEY, *Emory and Henry College, Va., Nov.* 30, 1848.

From the cursory examination given them, I must say that I have been highly gratified. Such a series as you propose giving to the public, is certainly a great desideratum. Our classical text-books have heretofore been rendered entirely too expensive, by the costly dresses in which they have appeared, and by the extensive display of notes appended; many of which, though learned, are of little worth to the student in elucidating the text. It will afford me pleasure to introduce into my department such books of your series as may be in our course.

From S. H. TAYLOR, ESQ., *Andover, Mass., Oct.* 30, 1848.

The notes seem to me very accurate, and are not so numerous as to do for the student what he ought to do for himself. I can with safety, therefore, recommend it to my pupils.

From PROF. M. M. CAMPBELL, *Principal of the Grammar School, Indiana University, Nov.* 6, 1848.

I like the plan of your series. I feel sure it will succeed, and thus displace some of the learned lumber of our schools. The notes, short, plain, and apposite, are placed where they ought to be, and furnish the learner just about help enough.

From PHILIP LINDSLEY, D. D., *Pres. of the University of Nashville, Nov.* 27, 1848.

The classical series, edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt, has already acquired a high and well-merited reputation on both sides of the Atlantic. I have carefully examined your editions of Cæsar and Virgil. I think them admirable text-books for schools, and preferable to all others. I shall avail myself of every suitable occasion to recommend them.

From B. SANFORD, ESQ., *Bridgewater, Mass, Jan.* 17, 1849.

I have examined, with considerable care, both the Cæsar and the Virgil, and am much pleased with the plan and execution of the series thus far. I am particularly gratified with the propriety and judgment displayed by the editors in the preparation of the notes; avoiding, as I think, the prolixity and protuseness of some of our classical works, and, at the same time, the barrenness and deficiency of others; giving a body of annotations better suited to aid the teacher in imparting a knowledge of the language, than is to be found in any edition heretofore in use.

From PROF. STURGESS, *Hanover College, Indiana, Dec.* 30, 1848.

The mere name of the editors is a sufficient and most ample guarantee of the accuracy of the text, the judicious choice of various readings, and the conformity of those adopted to the latest investigations of MSS., and the results of the most enlightened criticism. The notes I have not examined very carefully, except those of the Virgil. They are admirable, extremely condensed, and conveying a great deal of most valuable criticism in the briefest possible way. They are particularly valuable for their æsthetical remarks, and the frequent references to parallel passages in the same author. The preliminary life is excellent, and of great value to the student. The Sallust appears to be of the same general character, and the notes to furnish just such help as the diligent student really needs. I think that in bringing out such a course at a cheap rate you are conferring a great boon on the country, and additional honour on your press, already so distinguished for the *value* of its issues.

From REV. ROBT. ALLYN, *Providence Conference Seminary, R. I., Dec.* 25, 1848.

I am much pleased with the general character of these works. The text in its general character is highly satisfactory, the notes are really illustrative, and admirably calculated to assist the student in acquiring a knowledge of the matter in the text, the manners and customs of the times, and the history and characters of the actors in the scenes. The typography and external appearance of the works are such as please the eye and improve the taste. You certainly deserve encouragement, and we shall do what lies in our power to extend the circulation of the works.

KALTSCHMIDT'S LATIN DICTIONARY FOR SCHOOLS.

A SCHOOL DICTIONARY OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE,
IN TWO PARTS, LATIN-ENGLISH AND ENGLISH-LATIN.
BY DR. KALTSCHMIDT.

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Part II. English-Latin, nearly 400 pages, bound to match.—Price, 75 cts.

While several valuable and copious Latin Lexicons have within a few years been published in this country, a want has long been felt and acknowledged of a good SCHOOL DICTIONARY, which within reasonable compass and at a moderate price should present to the student all the information requisite for his purposes, as elucidated by the most recent investigations, and at the same time unincumbered with erudition useful only to the advanced scholar, and increasing the size and cost of the work beyond the reach of a large portion of the community. It is with this view especially that the present work has been prepared, and the names of its distinguished authors are a sufficient guarantee that this intention has b en skilfully and accurately carried out.

The present volume has been compiled by Dr. Kaltschmidt, the well-known German Lexicographer, from the best Latin Dictionaries now in use throughout Europe, and has been carefully revised by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. Learned discussions and disquisitions could not be introduced, as incompatible with the objects for which the Dictionary is intended, and because they would have swelled considerably the bulk of the volume. On the other hand, it has been thought advisable to give, as far as possible, the etymology of each word, not only tracing it to its Latin or Greek root, but to roots or kindred forms of words occurring in the cognate languages of the great Indo-Germanic family. This feature, which distinguishes the present Dictionary from all others, cannot fail to awaken the learner to the interesting fact of the radical identity of many apparently heterogeneous languages, and prepare him at an early stage for the delightful study of comparative philology.

The aim of the publishers has been to carry out the author's views as far as possible by the form and arrangement of the volume. The type, though clear and well printed, is small, and the size of the page such as to present an immense amount of matter in the compass of a single handsome 18mo. volume, furnished at a price far below what is usual with such works, and thus placing within the reach of the poorest student a neat, convenient, and complete Lexicon, embodying the investigations of the most distinguished scholars of the age.

From D. H. TEMPLE, ESQ., *Chicago*, *October*, 1849.

At my recommendation a class in Sallust provided themselves with Schmitz's edition of this author, and are just completing the work. The judiciousness of the annotations both in amount and character, have been so evident, that I shall recommend the book to future classes above every other edition I know of. I am inclined to the same opinion concerning the Commentaries of Cæsar, and shall test it as soon as possible in the school-room. The Grammar has pleased me exceedingly, and I shall, as soon as possible, introduce it, to the exclusion of others, except for occasional reference. The extreme neatness of these works, notwithstanding their cheapness, is a consideration of no little importance, and should, as it doubtless will, add to the favor with which they will be received.

From PROF. ROCHE, *Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., March* 31, 1849.

Whatever influence my position may give me, shall be most cheerfully employed in bringing into general use in the West these very valuable works. I trust that you will prosecute to a close the proposed series, and that the execution of those that remain to complete a Latin Curriculum may be as neat and in all respects as unexceptionable as that of those already published.

CLASSICAL SERIES.
EDITED BY DRS. SCHMITZ AND ZUMPT.

LIVY

T. LIVII PATAVINI

HISTORIARUM

LIBRI I, II, XXI, XXII

PHILADELPHIA:
LEA AND BLANCHARD.
1851.

PREFACE.

The text of this edition of the first, second, twenty-first, and twenty-second books of Livy is founded on Immanuel Bekker's 'Recension' (Berlin. 1829. 3 vols. 8vo.); and in every case of importance where a reading different from his is given, both the variation and the reasons for it are stated in the notes. Bekker's text is founded generally, and particularly in these books, not on recently-discovered or newly-used manuscripts, but on the materials afforded by the great edition of Arn. Drakenborch (Amsterdam and Leyden, 1738–46. 7 vols. 4to.), which contains a digest of the labours of all preceding editors; and was reprinted at Stuttgard (1820–28. 15 vols. 8vo.), enriched in the two last decades with new readings from manuscripts. Since the publication of Bekker's 'Recension,' new and important materials, especially in these books, have been brought to light by Mr. Alschefski in his critical edition of Livy (vol. i. containing books i.—v. Berlin, 1841; vol. ii., books vi.—x. 1843; vol. iii., books xxi.—xxiii. 1846). Mr. Alschefski for the first decade has compared anew the celebrated 'Codex Mediceus,' and has found many things which had been previously overlooked. He has also consulted the 'Codex Parisinus,' No. 5725 of the Paris Library; and for the third decade, compared with greater care than was ever done before, the oldest manuscript of Livy in Paris—namely, the 'Codex Puteanus,' another 'Codex Parisinus,' No. 5731, and another 'Mediceus.' By this praiseworthy diligence the reading in many passages has been corrected, and it is not without sincere sorrow that we nevertheless have felt ourselves obliged to differ in opinion from Mr. Alschefski still more frequently than from Bekker; but the truth is, that from his over-fidelity to the manuscripts, and at the same time his eagerness to alter readings, he has made the text of Livy incorrect, and fre-

quently unintelligible. We have, according to our best judgment, kept a middle course between over-innovation and over-adherence to present readings; and confidently believe that the text now presented is very much more accurate than that in common use.

Our notes are intended to explain the difficulties of the language, which present themselves not only to the beginner, but also to the more advanced student; and by the illustration of allusions to ancient customs, and the occasional collation of the statements of other historians, to elucidate the exact meaning and connection. In the first two books it was frequently necessary to enter into a criticism upon the traditional nature of the early history of Rome; and in doing this, we have endeavoured, on the one hand, to treat with due regard the ingenious and poetical legends with which that history abounds; and on the other, to extract from them germs of truth, and state the real origin of the Roman state, and of its wondrous development.

With regard to orthography, we refer to our Grammar, where we have stated the results found by a careful comparison of the forms and rules given by the ancient grammarians with the practice in the most trustworthy manuscripts. When a reference is made merely to *Gram.*, Dr. Schmitz's Latin Grammar, prepared for the present series, is the one alluded to.

Livy's whole work consisted of one hundred and forty-two books, divided—whether by the author himself or his transcribers we know not—into decades, or sections of ten books each. The great size of the work rendered complete copies of it very rare, and consequently very dear, in the later ages of antiquity; and to this circumstance we may chiefly attribute the disappearance of such copies. No single manuscript of Livy in existence contains even all those books which we possess. The first half of the fifth decade (books xli.—xlv.) is found only in one manuscript, which was discovered in the Benedictine Monastery at Lorsch near Worms ('Codex Laurishamensis'), and is now deposited in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The fourth decade, too—a manuscript of Mainz being lost—is found, the greater part of it at least (books xxxi.—xxxviii.), only in a Bamberg manuscript. Of the first two existing decades (books i.—x. and xxi.—xxx.) there is a considerable number of manuscripts, few of them, however, old and good. The best manuscripts of the first decade are one at Florence ('Codex Mediceus'), one at Paris (No. 5725), and one at Oxford ('Codex Harleianus'). The text of the third decade depends principally upon the Paris manuscript, which belonged to the learned Du Puy, and was hence called 'Codex Puteanus;' upon the 'Codex Colbertinus,' No. 5731 of

the Paris Library; and upon a 'Codex Mediceus, at Florence, different from that which contains the first decade. Ever since these or similar manuscripts, now lost, were made use of by the early editors, the text of Livy has by degrees been greatly improved both in regard to completeness and accuracy. As, however, even the best manuscripts are disfigured by numerous and varied errors, the text of our author presented, and still presents to the learned, a rich field for the exercise and display of their knowledge, both of history and of language, in acute conjectures.* The great edition of Livy, into which all the discoveries and corrections made previous to the time of its publication (1738–46) were incorporated, is that of Arnold Drakenborch. There are in it, besides the careful and excellent notes of Drakenborch himself, the remarks of the former critics, particularly C. Sigonius and J. F. Gronow (Gronovius). A part of the work, too, is occupied by the supplements of John Freinsheim. These were intended to supply the place of the lost books of Livy, and were composed in Latin, according to those *epitomae* of all the books which have come down to us under the name of the historian Florus, the materials being collected with uncommon diligence from other ancient writers. During the century which has elapsed since the publication of Drakenborch's most meritorious edition, very many corrections of the text of Livy have been made by modern critics, such as Stroth, Walch, Kreyssig, Bekker, and Alschefski.

In the year 1773 there was discovered in the Vatican Library

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* In some manuscripts of the first decade, particularly in the 'Codex Mediceus,' there is subscribed at the end of each book, 'I, Nicomachus, have at Henna (in Sicily) corrected (*emendavi*) these books according to an older copy.' In all probability this Nicomachus lived about the end of the fourth century after Christ. Besides this note there is added, 'I, Victorianus, have corrected (*emendabam*) these books for the *domini Symmachi*' (a father and son, who flourished about the year 400 after Christ). Though these notes have come into the existing manuscripts only by transcription from the more ancient one, still they give us sufficiently certain evidence of the fact that the text was corrected. Emendation, before the invention of printing, was in the highest degree necessary, and was effected either by professed grammarians, or at least by men of learning, the mere transcription being executed by scribes or calligraphers, who worked mechanically, without troubling their brains about what they were writing. A manuscript which had not been corrected was of course disfigured by many *lapsus* of the copyist, even though he had faithfully followed his original, or at least had not intentionally diverged from it. The celebrated 'Codex Puteanus' is a manuscript of this kind, beautifully written, but not revised by a learned reader. It is therefore justly considered to be faithful, but at the same time by no means free from errors.

at Rome a fragment of the ninety-first book, containing an account of the events of the war in Spain during the year 76 B.C.; and little more than a year ago there was found in Berlin a fragment of the ninety-eighth book, which, it is to be lamented, consists of but a few mutilated lines.* The frequently excited hope, of finding a complete copy of Livy's work, either in Latin or in an Oriental translation, has not as yet been fulfilled.

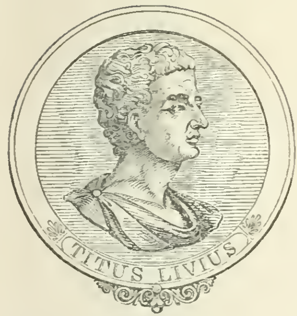
C. G. ZUMPT.

BERLIN, *March*, 1849.

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* A parchment on which these lines occur, is a leaf of a lost manuscript of Livy, covered with another writing of a later date, and had been brought from Spain to Berlin.

INTRODUCTION.



the Roman historian, was born, according to Jerome's translation of the 'Chronicle of Eusebius,' in the second year of the 180th Olympiad—that is, 59 B.C., the same year in which the orator Messalla Corvinus was born; and died Olymp. 199,1—that is, A.D. 17, in which year also the poet Ovid died. Livy's native city was Patavium (now Padua), an ancient and considerable town of the Veneti, situated in Upper Italy, near the mouth of the river Padus (Po). The Veneti had been for a long time allies of the Roman people, and were confirmed in their fidelity to them by their common fear of the Gauls (in Gallia Cisalpina). In reward for this constancy they received, on the occasion of the Marcis or Social war, the Roman franchise. The law by which this privilege was conferred upon them was brought forward by the consul, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, father of Pompey the Great, and was consequently called *lex Pompeia.* It may be remarked that the Latin language was then already in use among the Veneti, particularly in their chief town, Patavium; and afterwards acquired such an ascendancy, that no information of the existence of a native Venetian language has come down to us. Livy was therefore born a Roman citizen, and educated in Latin. It may be a doubtful question whether the family of Livy had emigrated from Rome, where there was an ancient plebeian *gens* of that name, often mentioned in history, or whether a native Patavian family had assumed the Roman gentile name of 'Livius:' we believe the latter supposition to be the true one, since it was very common for such *peregrini* (persons not Roman citizens) as received the franchise to take the name of a Roman *gens;* and we know nothing of the settlement of a Roman colony in the ancient territory of the Veneti.

Livy, as every allusion leads us to believe, was born of an equestrian family; that is, of a family which belonged to the class holding the middle station between the senators and the common people; not possessing the prerogatives of the former, but distinguished from the latter by opulence and free birth for three generations. After finishing his studies in rhetoric and philosophy, he might either have entered into public life at Rome, by plunging into a poli-

tical career, or become a teacher of rhetoric. But we know nothing of his devoting himself to either the one profession or the other. He seems rather, being possessed of an easy independence, to have remained in a private station, busied with his own studies; to have married, and become the father of a family; and to have lived principally at Rome, on terms of intimacy with the most accomplished men of that capital. He himself was a much-prized member of the small but brilliant circle that Augustus had drawn around him; and it was his counsel which induced the emperor's grandson, Claudius —who was afterwards emperor—to apply his attention to the writing of historical works. Livy's first literary productions were philosophical treatises, which were highly valued. His 'Dialogi' also, occupying a middle position between philosophy and history, were held in much esteem. He earned immortality, however, by the execution of a great and comprehensive work on the history of the Roman people, from the building of the city till the year 9 B.C., in which year Claudius Drusus—the stepson of Augustus—after making a successful campaign against the Germans, and penetrating further into their country than any other Roman general had done, died on his march back into Gaul. The period, therefore, at which the history closed was one when the Roman eagles were still soaring triumphantly, and when the state was entirely free from intestine commotions, the constitution being well balanced between monarchical despotism and republican licentiousness. He might, perhaps, have carried on his history further — for instance, till the death of Augustus, A.D. 14 — but, besides other reasons to us unknown, by which he may have been induced to close it earlier, had he continued it to this point, he would then have had to describe a dark period, comprehending the failure of the plans formed by the Romans for the subjugation of Germany, and many sad presages of the coming reign of despotism at home. Whatever were his reasons, it is certain that he resolved to finish his work in 142 books,* with the year 9 B.C., though he lived till the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius; when he died at Patavium, his native city, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Livy did not enter on the composition of his colossal history till he had reached the middle period of life, for there is a passage in the 19th chapter of book i. which plainly refers to the closing of the temple of Janus by Augustus in 29 B.C., when Livy was thirty years of age. We can, moreover, fix the writing of this book before 25 B.C., because in that year the temple was again shut for a second time in the reign of Augustus; and yet Livy, in the passage already mentioned, speaks of its having been closed only once after the Actian war. From the time when Livy commenced his history, he no doubt laboured constantly at its composition. It was probably published in parts, as each book or decade was finished; and whilst the work was proceeding, the author's fame gradually spread over the world. An instance of Livy's celebrity is mentioned by Pliny (*Epist.* ii. 3), who tells us that a Spaniard travelled from Gades

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* Niebuhr (Lectures on Rom. Hist., vol. iii., p. lviii., 2d ed. Schmitz) expresses it as his opinion that, as there is an evident want of symmetry in Livy's work being comprehended in 142 books, the author probably intended to complete fifteen decades, but died before he could accomplish his object.

(Cadiz) to Rome solely for the purpose of seeing the author of the great history, and returned as soon as he had satisfied his curiosity. Livy's work is an admirable digest of all the materials existing for a history of Rome. His purpose in undertaking it (and this very purpose shows us his own beautiful and amiable character) was to draw, with all the charms which his artistic skill and delicate taste could give, a complete picture of the history of the Roman people, and of the laudable or blameworthy peculiarities of its prominent personages, that thereby he might inflame the patriotic feelings of his countrymen, and contribute to the instruction and entertainment of the world at large. Livy generally looks at a historical event or character from a moral point of view: he wishes to excite our admiration of the great, love of the good, and hatred of the bad; he feels a proud pleasure in describing the power of the Romans, or the purity of manners by which they were at first distinguished; and the history of the early ages of the state seems to have consoled him for the wickedness and wretchedness which he had seen and felt during the time of the civil wars, when the republic was overthrown. In consequence of such feelings, he was in principle a republican; but, restrained by law and habit, he was a decided conservative, and therefore could not look without sorrow even upon the happy results which had followed the dictator Caesar's demolition of the antiquated aristocratic constitution of the republic. It was on this ground that Augustus reproachfully called him a Pompeian, without, however, withdrawing from him his esteem and favour.* This conservatism, and habitual admiration of the olden times above the modern, merely because they were the olden times, are exhibited by Livy in the early parts of his work, especially in his description of the contests between the patricians and the plebeians —that is, particularly in books ii.—vi. Livy's partiality to the patricians in this part of the history may be blamed with more justice than his liking for Pompey, the defender of the old republic against the monarchy which Caesar was threatening. His conservatism, however, never led him to wink at cruelty or baseness, or to conceal or mis-state facts. History, as he obtained it from the various sources to which he resorted, was to him a sacred thing. He was by no means a searcher into history, though he does not scruple, on occasion, to tell his readers of his assiduity in this respect. For a thorough inquisition into historical points he was naturally unfitted, being possessed neither of the restless activity of a Cato nor of the deep antiquarian spirit of a Varro. His sources were not the documents of the olden time, which were preserved in the Italian cities, among those tribes which are now extinct, but the works of the Roman annalists, Fabius Pictor, M. Cato, Calpurnius Piso, Sempronius Tuditanus, Cn. Gellius, Valerius Antias, and Licinius Macer. From these he chose his materials, and their diversities of statement he endeavoured to settle, exercising indeed the judgment of a man of sense, but no strict and independent criticism. Whatever presented itself to him as a correct statement of a fact, he received, even though doubts of its truth might arise. To this we must attribute his mention every year of the prodigies which had been reported and set down in the annals of the *pontifex maximus*.

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* Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. 34.

Implicit belief in these was a characteristic feature of the early ages, but a sensible and active-minded historian would have passed them over with silent contempt. A doubt of the truth of the early history of Rome, according to the ordinary traditions, seems never to have occurred to him. The first sketch of great events in Roman history by a cotemporary was made so late as the Punic wars; and the history of the kings, and of the early ages of the republic, resting merely on oral tradition and popular belief, was grossly falsified through the conviction entertained by the Romans of their invincibility and greatness. By this prejudice Livy was as much enchained as his predecessors, the annalists. This part of his history, and indeed the history of Rome in general, have therefore afforded to acute critics rich fields for conjectures and corrections. Livy's great desire seems to be, to bring out clearly what he considers to be the characteristics of great and leading men. For this end the speeches which he puts in the mouths of statesmen and generals are particularly useful. According to the judgment of antiquity, he displays in these orations at once considerable insight into the characters of public men and political measures, and a remarkable power of eloquent and vigorous expression.* It must here be observed, however, that in the early periods Livy does not give way to his liking for speech-making. In this respect he is very favourably distinguished from the Greek historian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who makes Romulus and Numa deliver long harangues, exhibiting all the art and skill of the most polished rhetoric, and who thereby shows to his readers merely his own want of discreetness. Far from attributing such absurdity to Livy, we say this in his praise, that even when he leaves the mists which envelop the history of the first three centuries, he imposes considerable restraint upon his oratory. He brings out in his speeches the political creeds of statesmen as gathered from their actions; and it is indubitable that, in all cases where it was possible, he, like Sallust and Tacitus, consulted the actual published orations of these men, and founding his own upon theirs, endeavoured also to give as much as possible of their style and turn of thought.

Livy made use of the works of such Greeks as wrote on Roman history or events connected with it. Polybius, in particular, was his great authority for the history of the period from the outbreak of the second Punic war, 218 B.C., till the destruction of Corinth and Carthage, 146 B.C. In all the great transactions of that memorable and eventful period, Livy depended principally on him, not, however, without frequently amplifying details from Roman annalists, and sometimes, in cases of discrepancy, preferring the authority of an annalist to that of Polybius. In cases of this kind occurring in books xxi. and xxii. we have given in our notes the statement of Polybius.

The best part of Livy's work, considered merely as a literary effort, was doubtless the history of the period from the Gracchi till the death of Caesar; for here there were few historical doubts to solve, all being plain and open. Great deeds and mighty events lay scattered in rich abundance, and the sentiments and characters

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* Quintilian (x. i.) calls Livy *in contionibus supra quam enarrari potest eloquentem.*

of the leading men were to be seen vividly impressed upon their published speeches and literary productions, or were at least described in detail in the historical works of their cotemporaries. Here a historian skilled in rhetoric and philosophy could bring all his powers of description and narration into full play. There can be no doubt that Quintilian, in ascribing to Livy a *lactea ubertas*—that is, a rich fulness of beautiful narrative—had reference principally to that part of the history which we have mentioned. Three-fourths of Livy's work, however, including all the books after the forty-fifth, are lost. Even the first forty-five books, comprehending the period from the building of the city till the conquest of Perseus, king of Macedonia, and the triumph of Æmilius Paullus, 167 B.C., have not come down to us complete, for the second decade (books xi.—xx.), which embraced the time from the termination of the Samnite wars till the commencement of the second Punic, is wanting. But even from what we have, we can perceive the truth of the ancient critic's remark on Livy; we can see the purity of his character in his appreciation of the noble and the base, the fluency, and, frequently, in the description of accessory circumstances, the over-copiousness of his narrative, his correct taste and scrupulous avoidance of all affectation in style. Livy's style is founded on Cicero's in the same manner as that of Tacitus on Sallust's. Livy's period is expanded, whereas Sallust's is broken up into single short sentences. Livy carries on his periods by the introduction of all kinds of additional circumstances in the form of accessory sentences, through means of conjunctions with their dependent verbs, and participles in the case of the subjects, and as ablatives absolute. Livy's period is quite peculiar; Cicero's being oratorical, is much more animated and varied. Livy's expands into a quiet, broad, transparent stream, so that in translating into modern languages, which do not make such extensive use of accessory clauses as the Latin, one of his periods must be broken up into three or four moderately-sized sentences. In reference to his employment of particular words, their meanings, and constructions, Livy for the most part followed the general usage of the language. His language, therefore, approaches nearer to that of Cicero than Sallust's does, though the latter was about thirty years older than Livy, and almost a contemporary of the great *pater patriae*. Sallust formed his style and chose his words according to the earlier Latinity; Livy kept to the language of his contemporaries, as it had been improved by the orators of the Ciceronian period, and modified and polished by the rhetoricians and poets of the Augustan age. This difference between Livy and Sallust in their views of style is shown also by statements which we find in ancient writers. Quintilian (x. 1) relates that Livy, in a letter to his son, commanded him to read principally Demosthenes and Cicero, and other authors only in the degree of their resemblance to these; and Seneca (*Controv.* 24, 59) mentions that Livy had a poor opinion of Sallust's studied brevity and affectation of archaisms. The discrepancy which exists between the styles of Livy and Cicero, independently of the natural difference of narrative and representation between the historian and the orator, is worthy of remark. This difference is principally to be found in Livy's frequent introduction of poetical words and constructions into his prose: e. g. *tempestas* for *tempus*, *mortales* for *homines*, *letum*

for *nex*, *degere* for *vivere*, or *agere vitam*, *que-que* for *et-et ;* further, in the use of the mere ablative without the preposition *in*, to express place 'where ;' in the pleonastic employment of adverbs, with compound verbs, to strengthen the meaning of the preposition contained in the verb ; e. g. *prius praecipere*, *ante praeoccupare*, *retro repetere*, *rursus repetere*, *retro redire*, *pergere porro*, *inducere exercitum in agrum hostium ;* in collective nouns in the singular being connected with a predicate in the plural : e. g. *omnis multitudo abeunt ; ingens turba circumfusi fremebant ; clamor concursusque populi, mirantium quid rei esset ; Romanorum minus mille interfecti ;* and lastly, in the use of *quam* for *magis quam ;* e. g. *ipsorum quam Hannibalis interesse.* There are other variations between the language of Livy and that of Cicero, which, however, must be attributed to, and are indeed proofs of, the progressive development of Latin syntax. We may mention. as one of these, the use of the future participle active in a hypothetical sense ; for example (xxiii. 44) *dedituris se Hannibali non fuisse arcessendum Romanum præsidium*—that is, 'if they had been intending to give themselves up to Hannibal,' &c.

Quintilian (i. 9) tells us that Asinius Pollio, the celebrated orator, historian, and poet of the Augustan age, reproached Livy with *Patavinitas* — that is, a provincial mode of expression in use at Patavium, as distinguished from the standard style of the capital. It is vain for us now to inquire in what this consisted ; for though we may be able to state the difference between the style of one author and that of another, we are not in a position to recognise slight dialectic varieties, perhaps merely of pronunciation. Besides, Asinius Pollio, having rather too high an idea of his own abilities, was considerably addicted to speaking slightingly of other distinguished authors. Quintilian informs us (xii. 1. § 22) that he even ventured to depreciate Cicero's style. The Patavinity, therefore, may be nothing but a petty spiteful invention.

T. LIVII

AB URBE CONDITA LIBRI.

PRAEFATIO.

FACTURUSNE operae pretium sim,[1] si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio, nec, si sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum vulgatam esse rem[2] videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt. Utcunque erit,[3] juvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte[4] et ipsum consuluisse; et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me, qui nomini officient meo, consoler. Res[5] est praeterea et immensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum

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[1] Quintilian (*Instit. Orat.* ix. 4) mentions that the first words of Livy's work form the beginning of a hexameter, the syllable *ne* being elided by the following vowel. He adds that this arrangement is better than that found as an emendation in some copies, *facturusne sim operae pretium.* It is remarkable that this ancient correction appears in the existing manuscripts, and we should have been compelled to edit this reading, had not the evidence of the learned critic, who wrote only a century after Livy, been so definite. The sense is, 'whether I am about to do a thing which will reward me for my labour.' *Pretium operae* means 'recompense, reward for labour.' This can refer here only to praise or public gratitude: it is therefore equivalent to 'whether my labours shall be acknowledged or received with thanks.'

[2] *Rem*, the favourite Latin expression for a pronoun, 'it,' 'this. See Zumpt, § 678. By *res* here is meant the writing of history. This is old and common, whilst in it every new writer hopes to excel his predecessors.

[3] That is, 'whether my labours shall be gratefully received or not'

[4] 'So far as a single man can do it.' This is the power of the expression, qualifying and diminishing, not strengthening.

[5] *Res*, 'the matter;' that is, the history of Rome, and the narra-

repetatur, et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret sua; et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint, festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus jam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt. Ego contra hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe dum prisca illa tota mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curae, quae scribentis animum, etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere possit. Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem[1] poeticis magis decora fabulis, quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec affirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat. Et si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est[2] populo Romano, ut cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo, quam imperiam patiuntur. Sed haec et his similia utcunque animadversa aut existimata erunt,[3] haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine. Ad illa mihi[4] pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint; per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit. Labente deinde paulatim disciplina, velut desidentes[5] primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia

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tion of it. As the sentence proceeds, however, this word *res* assumes the meaning of the 'state' (*res publica*) whose history is related. This is to be accounted for by the generality, indeed we may say the universality, of this noun's signification.

[1] That is, 'before the building of the city; nay, before any idea of building it was entertained.' The usual expression is *ante conditam urbem;* but the author, by adding *condendamve*, leads us to think of a period even farther back.

[2] A lively rhetorical mode of connecting the apodosis with the protasis. The regular construction would have been, *si cui populo licere oportet, certe populo Romano propter eximiam belli gloriam licet*, &c.

[3] 'In whatever light these and similar stories may be looked upon,' whether as actual truths, or as truths adorned by poetry, or as absolute unmitigated fictions.

[4] An ethical dative, intimating that this was an advice in which he felt a particular interest.

[5] *Desidere*, said of a building which totters, and threatens to fall. *Velut* introduces and points out the figure.

nostra nec remedia[1] pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta[2] in illustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae, quod imitere, capias; inde, foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites. Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam res publica nec major nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit. Adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi[3] perdendique omnia invexere. Sed querelae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae, cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe tantae ordiendae rei absint. Cum bonis potius ominibus votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis[4] tanti operis successus prosperos darent.

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[1] This refers to the measures which Augustus took to restore the respect for the ancient religion, and to improve the public morals, particularly by discouraging celibacy, which was at that time very common. Such regulations are in no circumstances effectual, and were hateful to the ancients.

[2] *Documenta* are here events from which instruction is drawn. *Omnis exempli*, 'good or bad examples.'

[3] 'The eager desire to ruin themselves by debauchery and licentiousness.' This is a strong expression, for the eager desire of course is for the enjoyment, not the ruin. The meaning, however, is, that though they know the inevitable and immediate consequences of their conduct, still they pursue their pleasures with as much zeal as if they were really anxious for their own destruction.

[4] *Orsis*, from *orsa*, *orsorum*, a substantive derived from the participle *orsus-a-um*, and signifying 'a beginning.'

LIBER I.

(1–2) Arrival of Aeneas in Italy, and his exploits there. (3) Reign of Ascanius and of the Silvii at Alba. (4–5) The daughter of Numitor becomes, by Mars, the mother of *Romulus* and Remus; murder of Amulius. (6–8) Building of Rome and formation of the senate. (9) Rape of the Sabine women, and war with the Sabines. (10–13) Spolia Opima offered to Jupiter Feretrius. Division of the people into curiae. (14–15) Conquest of the Veientes and Fidenates. (16) Deification of Romulus, after a reign of 37 years. (17) The interreign. (18–21) *Numa Pompilius* institutes the religious ceremonies, and builds the temple of Janus, the gate of which he closes, there being peace with all the tribes about Rome. He pretends to have nightly interviews with Egeria, and directs the warlike spirit of his subjects to the observance of religious duties. His reign lasts 43 years. (22–23) *Tullus Hostilius* attacks Alba. (24–25) Fight of the Horatii and Curatii. (26–27) Trial and acquittal of Horatius. (28) Punishment of Mettus Fuffetius. (29–30) Destruction of Alba. The Albans are incorporated with the Roman state, and war is declared against the Sabines. (31) Tullus Hostilius is killed by lightning, after a reign of 32 years. (32) *Ancus Marcius* revives the religious institutions of Numa, and declares war against the Latins. (33) After the conquest of the Latins, and their incorporation with the Roman state, he assigns to them the Aventine. Destruction of Politorium. Building of a wooden bridge across the Tiber. Addition of the Janiculum to the city and foundation of Ostia. (34) In his reign, which lasts 24 years, Lucumo, a son of the Corinthian Damaratus, migrates to Rome from Tarquinii; he wins the friendship of Ancus, assumes the name of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and after the death of Ancus, succeeds to the throne. (35) He increases the number of senators by one hundred, subdues the Latins, marks out the space of the Circus, and exhibits great public games. (36) Being attacked by the Sabines, he increases the centuries of equites. Opposition of Attus Navius. (37–39) He defeats the Sabines, builds the great sewers, and begins surrounding the city with walls. He is slain by the sons of Ancus, after a reign of 38 years. (40–43) He is succeeded by *Servius Tullius*, who routs the Veientes and Etruscans. His census and division of the people into classes and centuries. (44) The Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline Hills are added to the city, which is fortified by a wall, a mound, and a ditch. The Pomoerium is extended. (45) Temple of Diana on the Aventine. (46–48) Servius is murdered by *L. Tarquinius Superbus*, after a reign of 44

years. (49) Tarquinius puts to death the leading men of the state, surrounds himself with a body-guard, and forms connections among the Latins. (50–52) His treacherous treatment of Turnus Herdonius. (53–54) War with the Volscians and with Gabii, which is taken by treachery. (55) Building of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline. (56) L. Junius Brutus and the embassy to Delphi. (57–58) War against Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli. Outrage on Lucretia. (59–60) Expulsion of the tyrant, after a reign of 25 years, and establishment of the republic under two annual consuls.

JAM primum omnium satis constat Troja capta in ceteros saevitum esse Trojanos; duobus, Aeneae Antenorique, et vetusti jure hospitii, et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerant, omne jus belli Achivos abstinuisse.[1] Casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum,[2] qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et sedes et ducem, rege Pylaemene ad Trojam amisso, quarebant, venisse in intimum Hadriatici maris sinum; Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsis, Enetos Trojanosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primum egressi sunt locum, Troja vocatur, pagoque inde Trojano nomen est: gens universa Veneti appellati. Aenean ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad majora rerum initia ducentibus fatis, primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse:[3] Troja[4] et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Trojani, ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves superessent,[5]

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[1] The ordinary construction would have been *a duobus, Aenea Antenoreque — abstinuisse*. The dative, which is in the manuscript reading, must be considered as a *dativus commodi*, 'for the good of two Trojans.' The author probably intended to close the sentence with the verb *pepercisse*, for which, however, he substituted an expression of similar import but different construction.

[2] For *Enetorum*. The Ἐνετοὶ appear in Homer as a nation on the south coast of the Pontus Euxinus, and as allied with the Trojans. Their king, Pylaemenes, was slain by Menelaus.

[3] *Tenere locum*, or *tenere ad locum*, means 'to steer for a place.' See note, xxi. 49.

[4] Some editions read *Trojae*, which is equally correct; for proper names may take either the same case as *nomen*, or, being attracted by the person or place named, the dative.

[5] The best manuscripts read *superessent* instead of *superesset*, which latter is certainly the proper and logical construction. The number of the verb seems to be attracted by the substantives standing next it, and the words *nihil praeter* are in reality nothing but *solum, tantum*, 'only.'

cum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est. Alii proelio victum Latinum pacem cum Aenea, deinde affinitatem junxisse tradunt: alii, cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad colloquium; percunctatum deinde qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo, quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentem exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem Trojanos esse, ducem Aeneam[1] filium Anchisae et Veneris; cremata patria et domo profugos sedem condendaeque urbi locum quaerere; et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dextra data fidem futurae amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam. Aeneam apud Latium fuisse in hospitio. Ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adjunxisse foedus, filia Aeneae in matrimonium data. Ea utique res Trojanis spem affirmat tandem stabili certaque sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum condunt; Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium[2] appellat. Brevi stirps quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium[3] parentes dixere nomen.

2. Bello deinde Aborigines Trojanique petiti. Turnus, rex Rutulorum,[4] cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegre patiens, simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies laeta ex eo certamine abiit: victi Rutuli; victores Aborigines Trojanique ducem

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[1] According to the best manuscripts, Livy employs both the Greek form *Aenean* and the Latin *Aeneam*. In other editions *Aenean* is given throughout.

[2] This, the first seat of the Trojans in Italy, was, in the flourishing times of Rome, a city of the Latins. It was situated near the sea-coast, and not far from Laurentum, where King Latinus resided. At a later period of Roman history, when both Lavinium and Laurentum were decayed, they were formed into one city, under the name of Lauro-Lavinium. The district is now in a wretched state with regard both to cultivation and population. It is remarkable that the name *Lavinium* was in the middle ages transferred to the inland city of Lanuvium, it being now called Civita Lavinja. The original Lavinium is now called Prattica.

[3] Accusative, in apposition to *nomen*. Other editions read *Ascanio*. See note 4 on preceding page.

[4] The town of the Rutulians was Ardea, situated on a steep isolated hill, a geographical mile to the south of Lavinium, and at some distance from the sea. It is now an insignificant village. Between Ardea and Lavinium flowed the Numicius or Numicus, now called, from its winding course, Rio Torto.

Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque, regem eorum, confugiunt, qui Caere,[1] opulento tum oppido, imperitans, jam inde ab initio minime laetus novae origine urbis, et tum nimio plus, quam satis tutum esset accolis, rem Trojanam crescere ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis junxit. Aeneas adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret, nec sub eodem jure solum sed etiam nomine omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Trojanis studio ac fide erga regem Aeneam cessere. Fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Aeneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut jam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem, ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum, fama nominis sui implesset, tamen cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etium ultimum operum mortalium fuit. Situs est, quemcunque eum dici jus fasque est,[2] super Numicum flumen. Jovem indigetem appellant.

3. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius, Aeneae filius, erat, tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolume mansit. Tantisper tutela muliebri (tanta indoles in Lavinia erat) res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit.[3] Haud nihil ambigam,[4] (quis enim rem tam veterem pro certa affirmet?) hicine fuerit Ascanius, an major quam hic, Creusa matre, Ilio incolumi, natus, comesqne inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem[5] Julia gens auctorem nominis sui nun-

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[1] Caere, situated twenty-six *milia* (more than five geographical miles) from Rome, and one geographical mile from the sea, is now called Cervetri (that is, 'old Caere,' a new Ceri having sprung up in the neighbourhood). This is a celebrated town, originally Pelasgian, then Etruscan, and often mentioned in early Roman history. The Romans obtained a great many of their religious ceremonies from Caere.

[2] 'Whatever it is right and pious for him to be called.' This is a parenthetical allusion to the ancient superstition, which named Aeneas a local god (Greek, *θεὸς χθόνιος*) on the place where he was said to be buried.

[3] 'Stood safely,' or 'was preserved to him,' equivalent to *incolume mansit* in the previous sentence.

[4] *Haud nihil ambigo*, equal to *aliquantulum dubito*. It is remarkable that *nihil* is wanting in all the manuscripts. The word, however, being absolutely necessary for the sense, this is merely a proof of the fact, that even our best *codices* are by no means perfect. As to *hicine*, see *Gram.* § 115, note 1. The interrogative particle *ne* is subjoined to the full old forms *hice*, *haece*, *hoce*, for which, in the later language, the abbreviated *hic*. *haec*, *hoc* were used.

[5] Ascanius was *also* or *at the same time*, called Iulus, and from

cupat. Is Ascanius, ubicunque et quacunque matre genitus (certe natum Aenea constat), abundante Lavinii multitudine, florentem jam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri seu novercae reliquit, novam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata. Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes creverant, maxime fusis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Aeneae, nec deinde inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque primum puerilis regni, movere arma aut Mezentius Etruscique aut ulli alii accolae ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset.

Silvius deinde regnat, Ascanii filius, casu quodam in silvis natus. Is Aenean Silvium creat; is deinde Latinum Silvium. Ab eo coloniae aliquot deductae, Prisci Latini appellati.[1] Mansit Silviis postea omnibus cognomen qui Albae regnarunt. Latino Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus, qui in trajectu Albulae amnis summersus celebre ad posteros nomen[2] flumini dedit. Agrippa inde, Tiberini filius, post Agrippam Romulus Silvius a patre accepto imperio regnat. Aventino fulmine ipse ictus regnum per

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him, under this latter name, the *gens Julia* at Rome deduced its origin. *Idem* is 'also,' when one subject has two predicates; for example, *Cicero orator idemque philosophus*. Compare Zumpt, § 697. The tradition, as given by Dionysius, is this, that Aeneas had two sons, Ascanius by Creusa, and Silvius by Lavinia. The son of Ascanius was Iulus, who, being supplanted by his uncle Silvius, did not succeed to the crown at his father's death, but lived in the odour of sanctity, and became the founder of the Julian *gens*. Several other Roman *gentes* had the vanity to deduce their descent from demigods or heroes, (in the Greek sense of the word); the *gens Fabia*, for instance, from Hercules and a daughter of Evander. See note, i. 49. The fame, however, of the Julii has made their descent better known.

[1] At the time when Rome assumed authority over Latium, the Latin towns were divided into 'old' and 'new.' The former were thirty in number, and formed a confederation. New Latium (*novum Latium*) consisted of a number of townships on the borders of old Latium, which were subdued by the Romans, or by them in conjunction with the old Latins, and placed in the same relation to Rome as old Latium. According to Livy, these old Latins were originally colonists from Lavinium and Alba; in the opinion of other ancient historians they were not colonists, but merely recognised the pre-eminence of Alba. Aricia, Tusculum, Praeneste, Lanuvium, and Tibur, were among these old Latin towns.

[2] 'A name celebrated down to posterity;' that is, 'celebrated down to latest ages.' The names and succession of the Alban kings

manus[1] tradidit. Is sepultus in eo collè, qui nunc pars Romanae est urbis, cognomen colli fecit. Proca deinde regnat: is Numitorem atque Amulium procreat, Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat, regnum vetustum Silviae gentis legat. Plus tamen vis potuit quam voluntas patris aut verecundia aetatis.[2] Pulso fratre Amulius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus: stirpem fratris virilem interimit; fratris filiae Reae Silviae per speciem honoris, cum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.[3]

4. Sed debebatur,[4] ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium. Vi compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat,[5] Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant: sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur; pueros in profluentem aquam mitti jubet. Forte quadam divinitus[6] super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad justi cursum poterat amnis, et posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes spem ferentibus dabat. Ita velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima alluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est (Romularem vocatam ferunt)[7],

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seem to have been invented by the annalists, or collected from old legends, in order to supply the place of authentic information. The derivation of the name *Tiberis* from *Tiberinus* is equally unworthy of credit, for ordinary etymology would lead us to suppose that the name of the river (with which is connected the name of the town *Tibur*) originated the name of the man, rather than *vice versâ*.

[1] A phrase expressing immediate succession. It is equivalent to the Greek διάδοχον εἶχεν; that is, 'he had an immediate successor.

[2] 'Respect for (greater) age.'

[3] This allusion is explained by the description given in i. 20 of the office and rules of the vestal virgins. This institution was extremely old at Alba, and was introduced into Rome by the good king Numa Pompilius.

[4] *Debeo alicui.* 'I owe to some one,' or 'I have to thank some one for something.' The passive is here used, because the subject which feels the gratitude is very indefinite; thus we may translate *debebatur* by 'the world, or mankind, had to thank.' The imperfect refers us to the time when Rome was building, or when the Fates were bringing about the train of events which resulted in its being built. The gratitude is conceived as having been felt then.

[5] Livy supposes either that the vestal was herself deceived, or that she told an intentional falsehood. He has evidently no belief in the miracle.

[6] Chance itself is looked upon as under the control of the Gods. In Greek, *forte quadam divinitus* would be expressed by θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ.

[7] Livy intimates that the tree, which in his day was still standing

pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in iis locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama,[1] cum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus, qui circa sunt, ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam summissas infantibus adeo mitem praebuisse mammas, ut lingua lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit. Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt. Ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori educandos latos. Sunt qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pastores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.[2] Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes venando peragrare saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto, jam non feras tantum subsistere, sed[3] in latrones praeda onustos impetus facere, pastoribusque rapta dividere, et cum his, crescente in dies grege juvenum, seria ac jocos celebrare.

5. Jam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc[4] fuisse ludicrum ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Evandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus[5] tenuerit loca, sollemne allatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi juvenes

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at the Comitium, was originally called *Romularis*, and afterwards, by a change of pronounciation, *Ruminalis*. The more correct view is, that *ruminalis* is derived from *rumen*, *ruminis*—that is, *mamma*.

[1] *Fama tenet* or *obtinet*, 'the story is preserved.' We may either regard the verb as used intransitively, or, if transitively, supply *se*, or give the following sentence as its object. Compare ii. 3, *per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit*, 'continued;' see also note, xxi. 46. The story was preserved by means of a monument exhibiting a she-wolf suckling two boys, which was erected on the spot, and of which we still have copies.

[2] A very profane explanation of the popular story. A much more natural interpretation is afforded by the fact, that the wolf was believed to be the animal sacred to Mars.

[3] The omission of *etiam* with *sed* after *non modo*, *non solum*, *non tantum*, is very common in Livy. See Zumpt, § 724.

[4] *Hoc* means 'the festival which on the day of the Lupercalia (February 15th in the Julian Calendar) *is still kept up*.' This old Italian festival of the shepherds, in which a dog was solemnly slaughtered, and *Luperci* ran half naked round the Palatium, was connected, as in the text, with the pastoral character of the founders of Rome.

[5] 'A long time before,' or many ages before.' *Tempestas* is here used simply for *tempus*, perhaps for the sake of effect. At least *tempestas*, being an old, and, in this sense, properly a poetical word, is calculated to lead our minds back to the pastoral district of Arcadia, and to times long gone by; for Evander lived three generations before Aeneas and the destruction of Troy.

Lycaeum Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam currerent; quem Romani deinde vocarunt Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset, insidiatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio tradidisse, ultro accusantes.[1] Crimini maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetum fieri; inde eos, collecta juvenum manu, hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur. Jam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stirpem apud se educari: nam et expositos jussu regis infantes sciebat, et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere. Sed rem immaturam, nisi aut per occasionem aut per necessitatem, aperiri noluerat: necessitas prior venit. Ita metu subactus[2] Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori, cum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo juvenum (nec enim erat ad apertam vim par) sed aliis alio itinere jussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus, ad regem[3] impetum facit; et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adjuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncant.

6. Numitor inter primum tumultum hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque[4] obtinendam avocasset, postquam juvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelera in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque ejus auctorem ostendit. Juvenes per mediam contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi effecit.

Ita Numitori Albana re permissa, Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes

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[1] *Ultro*, 'of their own accord,' here appears to express the extreme impudence of the robbers. Though, in being forced to give up all their ill-gotten booty, they had only received their desert, they still were impudent enough to accuse young Remus.

[2] For *coactus*, rare and antique.

[3] 'Upon the king, his house, and his family.' Had the king alone been meant, we should have had *in regem*.

[4] A common Latin ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, equivalent to *praesidio armato*. Compare Zumpt, § 741.

facile spem facerent parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium prae ea urbe, quae conderetur, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido, atque inde foedum certamen cooitum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii, quorum tutelae ea loca essent,[1] auguriis legerent qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.[2]

7. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vultures; jamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat. Tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium regnum trahebant.[3] Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur: ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatior fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque increpitans adjecisset 'Sic deinde[4] quicunque alius transiliet moenia mea,' interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.[5]

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit; sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Evandro instituta erant, facit.[6] Herculem in ea loca, Geryone in-

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[1] 'Under whose protection these places were.' The phrase *in tutela esse* is also used in the same sense.

[2] 'As consecrated places for observing the heavens.' *Templum* means originally a place from which the heavens are observed (with regard to omens, &c.), and from it, in this sense, is derived the verb *contemplari*. *Inaugurare*, equivalent to *augurium capere*, and therefore, with an accusative, to *consecrare*.

[3] That is, *sibi ac suis partibus vindicabant*, 'claimed for themselves and their party.'

[4] Supply *pereat*, or *eveniat ei*.

[5] The name *Roma* is thus derived from *Romulus*, though the name of the man, from its form, evidently comes from that of the town. The story of the fratricide is very old, and was perhaps originated by the feuds of the early inhabitants of Rome. The localities, too —*Palatium* and *Mons Aventinus*—which are assigned to the quarrel seem to refer to the two seats of the patricians and plebeians—the Aventine, as the hill of the *plebs*, being opposite, and, as it were, hostile to the Palatine.

[6] The fact that sacrifices were offered, according to the Greek form, on the ancient *ara maxima*, at the foot of the Palatine, in what was afterwards called the 'ox-market' (*forum boarium*), and the legends of the priests regarding the origin of this ceremony, gave the Roman annalists an opportunity of inventing the settlement of a Greek colony on the banks of the Tiber, though the district is at

terempto, boves mira specie abegisse memorant,[1] ac prope Tiberim fluvium, qua prae se armentum agens nando trajecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse. Ibi cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola ejus loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum, cum avertere eam praedam vellet, quia si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura erant,[2] aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine,[3] caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus, cum gregem perlustrasset oculis et partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi omnia foras versa vidit nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi[4] ex loco infesto agere porro armentum occepit. Inde cum actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. Quem cum vadentem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava, fidem pastorum nequicquam invocans, morte occubuit. Evander tum ea, profugus ex Peloponneso, auctoritate magis quam imperio regebat loca, venerabilis vir miraculo litterarum,[5] rei novae inter rudes artium homines, venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae eae gentes fuerant. Is tum Evander concursu pastorum trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis excitus, postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habitum formamque viri ali-

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the same time described as waste and uncultivated. Livy, without settling the historical value of these stories, connects them with the religious institutions of Romulus.

[1] In the Greek mythology, the tenth labour imposed on Hercules by Eurystheus was to bring the cattle of the triple-bodied Geryon from the island of Erythea, on the west coast of Spain.

[2] 'Would have led:' the imperfect indicative of the periphrastic conjugation, in the hypothetical sense of *deduxissent*.

[3] Not all the oxen, but only some of them, according to their beauty, 'all those remarkable for their beauty.' This is the force of the partitive pronoun *quisque* with a superlative, or, as here, an adjective having the power of a superlative. Instead of the apposition *boves*, we might have had the genitive partitive *boum, eximium quemque boum*.

[4] For *animo*, a use of the genitive rare in the earlier prose, but frequently found in the poets, and the prose writers after Cicero.

[5] 'Written characters.' According to this tradition, then, Evander brought the alphabet from Greece, where Cadmus had introduced it from Phoenicia.

quantum[1] ampliorem augustioremque humana intuens, rogitat qui vir esset. Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit, 'Jove nate, Hercules, salve,' inquit. 'Te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum coelestium numerum cecinit; tibique aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat.' Dextra Hercules data accipere se omen impleturumque fata, ara condita ac dicata,[2] ait. Ibi tum primum bove eximia capta de grege sacrum Herculi, adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maxime inclitae ea loca incolebant, factum. Forte ita evenit ut Potitii ad tempus praesto essent hisque exta[3] apponerentur, Pinarii extis adesis ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis sollemnium vescerentur. Potitii ab Evandro edocti antistites sacri ejus per multas aetates fuerunt, donec, tradito servis publicis sollemni familiae ministerio, genus omne Potitiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit, jam tum immortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.

8. Rebus divinis rite perpetratis, vocataque ad concilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, jura dedit: quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum cetero habitu se augustiorem,

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[1] Or *aliquanto*, 'somewhat,' 'considerably.' *Aliquantum* and *aliquanto* increase the power of the word with which they are connected, whereas *paulum* and *paulo* lessen it.

[2] By this clause in the ablative absolute, the building of the altar is attributed to Hercules himself. It is said, too, ix. 34, that this service or ceremony was the only one which any god had instituted for himself. Ovid in his 'Fasti,' i. 582, corroborates this by the words—

Constituitque sibi, quae maxima dicitur, aram.

Other authors, however, give different accounts; some stating that Evander erected the altar to Hercules, and others that Hercules built it to Jupiter Inventor.

[3] The *exta*—that is, the more important inwards of the animal offered in sacrifice—the heart, lungs, liver, and kidneys—were placed upon a dish on the altar, examined according to the Etruscan *aruspicina*, and afterwards eaten by the priests and attendants, whilst the remainder was given to the person who appointed the sacrifice, and to the guests whom he invited. The families of the Potitii and Pinarii officiated, even in historical times, at the sacrifices to Hercules on the *Ara Maxima*. In the year 310 B. C., the whole family of the Potitii, consisting of thirty male adults, died out, on account of the neglect or careless performance of their duty.—See Livy, ix. 29.

tum maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quae augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant. Me haud poenitet[1] eorum sententiae esse, quibus et apparitores et hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet; et ita habuisse Etruscos, quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint. Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia appetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudinis, quam ad id, quod tum hominum erat, munirent. Deinde ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adjiciendae multitudinis causa, vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e terra sibi prolem ementiebantur,[2] locum qui nunc septus descendentibus inter duos lucos est,[3] asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit; idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris[4] fuit. Cum jam virium haud poeniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat. Centum creat senatores, sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant, qui creari Patres possent. Patres certe ab honore, Patriciique progenies eorum appellati.[5]

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[1] 'I decidedly coincide in opinion with those who,' &c. *Me poenitet* not only means 'I repent,' but may also be used generally of the feeling of disappointment, of discontent; *non* (*haud*) *me poenitet*, 'I am content.' The opinion that the *apparitores*, and particularly that class of them called *lictores*, along with the rest of the insignia of power, were derived from the Etruscans, is supported by other Roman historians, as well as by Livy. Some of them think that there were no *apparitores* till the time of the Tarquins.

[2] 'Who fabled.' Deucalion and Cadmus are instances.

[3] 'A place which is now enclosed, and will be found by those who come down from the *arx* (the north-eastern peak of the Capitoline Hill) between the two groves.' The place was in the time of Livy not an asylum, but, being looked upon as a sacred spot, was carefully enclosed. The right of sanctuary was not recognised at Rome, as it was in the Greek states. The whole story of the asylum of Romulus probably arose from the fact, that Rome was looked upon as the home of all unfortunates, since there the peculiar regulation was in force that slaves, when set free by Roman masters, became Roman citizens by that very act.

[4] 'The first powerful addition.'

[5] *Patricius* is simply derived from *pater*. by annexing the adjective termination *cius*. Livy, therefore, is mistaken when, in another passage, x. 8, he says that those were called patricians *qui patrem ciere possent*, as if every one else had been *spurius*, 'illegitimate.' *Patricii* is synonymous with *patres*.

9. Jam res Romana adeo erat valida, ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatium bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis connubia essent. Tum ex consilio Patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem connubiumque novo populo peterent: Urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci; dein quas sua virtus ac dii juvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque nomen facere. Satis scire origini Romanae et deos affuisse et non defuturam virtutem. Proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus miscere. Nusquam benigne legatio audita est: adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. A plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent? id enim demum compar connubium fore. Aegre id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit. Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, aegritudinem animi dissimulans, ludos ex industria parat Neptuno equestri sollemnes: Consualia vocat.[1] Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum jubet; quantoque apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant, concelebrant, ut rem claram expectatamque facerent. Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndae novae urbis, maxime proximi quique, Caeninenses, Crustumini, Antemnates. Jam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac conjugibus venit. Invitati hospitaliter per domos, cum situm moeniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi tempus venit, deditaeque eo[2] mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis, signoque dato juventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars forte, in quem quaeque inciderat, raptae; quasdam forma excellentes primoribus Patrum destinatas ex plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant. Unam longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo Talassii cujusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Talassio ferri clamitatum: inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam.[3] Turbato per metum ludicro, maesti

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[1] From *Consus*, the name of a god whose altar was discovered below ground in the place between the Palatine and the Aventine, where, afterwards, was the *Circus Maximus*. This god, otherwise unknown, was identified with Neptune.

[2] 'Thereto,' 'to it;' the adverb.

[3] When a Roman bride was conducted from her father's house to her husband's, her companions shouted *Talassio!* The meaning and derivation of this word are doubtful. The interjection *io* cer-

parentes virginum profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii foedus,[1] deumque invocantes, cujus ad sollemne ludosque per fas ac fidem decepti venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se melior aut indignatio est minor. Sed ipse Romulus circumibat, docebatque patrum id superbia factum, qui connubium finitimis negassent: illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque, et quo nihil carius humano generi sit, liberum fore. Mollirent modo iras, et quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos. Saepe ex injuria postmodum gratiam ortam; eoque melioribus usuras viris, quod annisurus pro se quisque sit, ut cum suam vicem functus officio sit,[2] parentium etiam patriaeque expleat desiderium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum, factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

10. Jam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant; at raptarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et querelis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant,[3] sed congregabantur undique ad T. Tatium, regem Sabinorum; et legationes eo, quod maximum Tatii nomen in his regionibus erat, conveniebant. Caeninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant, ad quos ejus injuriae pars pertinebat.[4] Lente agere his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt: ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Caeninensium satis se impigre movent. Ita per se ipsum nomen Caeninum[5] in agrum Romanum impe-

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tainly forms a part of it, and perhaps the whole word may be merely the Greek τάλας ἰώ. It was commonly thought by the Romans themselves to be a dative, which was accounted for by the incident mentioned in the text. The whole story of the rape of the Sabine maidens was probably invented to explain the ancient marriage ceremonies, which symbolically represented a rape, and to account for the existence of a Sabine element in the population of Rome.

[1] Properly, *violatum hospitii foedus*. Similarly, in the first chapter, *majora rerum initia*, for *majorum rerum initia*.

[2] 'When, in his place, he had done the duty of a husband.' The accusative *suam vicem* is used adverbially for *sua vice*, according to a peculiar use of *vicem*, 'in the stead of,' with a genitive or a possessive pronoun. *Vice*, however, is also used, as in i. 25.

[3] 'They preserved,' 'kept hot.' In another sense, *iram* or *indignationes continere* might mean, 'to restrain or moderate anger.'

[4] *Caeninenses etc. erant, ad quos pars pertinebat*, a rare circumlocution for the simple *ad Caeninenses, etc. pars pertinebat.*

[5] For *populus Caeninensis*, the example of *nomen Latinum* being here followed; not, however, quite properly, for *nomen* means 'a people' only in so far as the inhabitants of several distinct places are comprehended under one general appellation. In the case of

tum facit. Sed effuse vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus, levique certamine docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur; regem in proelio obtruncat et spoliat; duce hostium occiso, urbem primo impetu capit. Inde exercitu victore reducto, ipse cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor,[1] spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit; ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Jovis fines, cognomenque addidit deo.[2] 'Juppiter Feretri' inquit, 'haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus,[3] quas modo animo metatus sum, dedico, sedem opimis spoliis, quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis, me auctorem sequentes, posteri ferent.' Haec templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est. Ita deinde diis visum, nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturos eo spolia posteros nuncupavit,[4] nec multitudine compotum ejus doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia: adeo rara ejus fortuna decoris[5] fuit.

11. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatium exercitus per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem fecit. Raptim et ad hos Romana legio[6] ducta palatos

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the Latins, therefore, the word was properly applied; but not so in that of the inhabitants of the single town of Caenina. With the same irregularity, the Albans are called *nomen Albanum*, i. 23. Caenina was situated at a greater distance from Rome than either Antemnae or Crustumerium, being 18 *milia* to the north-east. Its modern name is St. Angelo.

[1] 'Illustrious by his deeds, and at the same time not slow to trumpet them forth, and boast of them.'

[2] This cognomen, *Feretrius*, is to be found in the speech which follows. In the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, on the Capitoline Hill, the armour of such leaders of hostile armies as were slain in single combat by a Roman general was hung up as a trophy (*tropaeum*). Such spoils were called *spolia opima*, and, after Romulus, were obtained only twice: once by A. Cornelius Cossus, who slew the Etruscan Tolumnius in the year 437 B. C. (see Livy, iv. 19), and once by M Claudius Marcellus, who killed Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, 222 B. C.

[3] 'Within these bounds.'

[4] Equivalent to *dixit*, but implying solemnity.

[5] 'The good fortune to gain this distinction.'

[6] *Legio* here is not used in the sense of a particular division of the Roman army, but generally for *exercitus;* though some writers, in order to carry back the peculiar signification of *legio* even to the earliest times of Rome, declare that the original number of citizens under Romulus was the same as that of a legion afterwards. Compare i. 28, where *legio Romana* is used for *exercitus;* and a little after, for the same army, the plural *legiones*.

in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes; oppidum captum. Duplicique victoria ovantem Romulum Hersilia conjux, precibus raptarum fatigata, orat ut parentibus earum det veniam et in civitatem accipiat: ita rem coalescere concordia posse. Facile impetratum. Inde contra Crustuminos profectus bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quod alienis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utroque coloniae missae: plures inventi, qui propter ubertatem terrae in Crustuminum nomina darent.[1] Et Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus maxime ac propinquis raptarum.

Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit: nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est, nec ostenderunt bellum priusquam intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Sp. Tarpejus Romanae praeerat arci. Hujus filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius, ut armatos in arcem[2] accipiat. Aquam forte ea tum sacris extra moenia petitum ierat. Accepti[3] obrutam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset. Additur fabulae, quod vulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio laevo gemmatosque magna specie anulos[4] habuerint, pepigisse eam quod in sinistris manibus haberent; eo[5] scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt qui eam ex pacto tradendi quod in

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[1] According to this narrative, then, the citizens of Antemnae and Crustumerium received the rights of Roman citizenship; and at the same time, by the settlement of Roman citizens in these towns, they were placed in the relation of colonies. Colonisation and extension of the franchise, however—the two features in the character of the Roman state which mainly contributed to its greatness—probably were not begun till a later period. Antemnae lay in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, and does not appear again as an independent town; but Crustumerium is named in i. 38 as one of the Latin cities, and is there mentioned as not having been incorporated with the Roman state till the time of Tarquinius Priscus. *Nomen dare*, 'to give in one's name,' sometimes to be put on the list of soldiers discharged, but here to be placed in the roll of those wishing to be settled in a colony.

[2] Nothing has previously been mentioned of an *arx* in Rome, or of a separate fortification; but the Capitoline Hill bore this name. The story of Tarpeia and her treachery seems to have been founded on the name—*rupes Tarpeia*—of the steepest cliff of the Capitoline. The Romans, and ancients in general, were much addicted to inventing fanciful explanations of the names of places.

[3] Namely, *in arcem*, 'after being admitted into the citadel.

[4] 'Rings set with stones of great brilliancy.'

[5] As frequently, equivalent to *ideo* 'therefore.'

sinistris manibus esset, directo arma petisse dicant, et fraude visam agere sua ipsam peremptam mercede.[1]

12. Tenuere tamen[2] arcem Sabini; atque inde postero die, cum Romanus exercitus instructus, quod inter Palatinum Capitolinumque collem campi est, complesset, non prius descenderunt in aequum, quam, ira et cupiditate recuperandae arcis stimulante animos, in adversum Romani subiere. Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant, ab Sabinis Mettius Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius[3] Hostilius. Hic rem Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa animo atque audacia sustinebat. Ut Hostius cecidit, confestim Romana inclinatur acies, fusaque est ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus et ipse turba fugientium actus, arma ad coelum tollens, 'Juppiter, tuis' inquit 'jussis avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta jeci. Arcem jam scelere emptam Sabini habent; inde huc armati, superata media valle, tendunt. At tu, Pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes; deme terrorem Romanis, fugamque foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori Jovi,[4] quod monumentum sit posteris, tua praesenti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo.' Haec precatus, veluti si sensisset auditas preces, 'Hinc' inquit, 'Romani, Juppiter Optimus Maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam jubet.' Restitere Romani tamquam coelesti voce jussi. Ipse ad primores Romulus provolat. Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat, et effusos egerat Romanos toto quantum foro spatium

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[1] This version of the story rescues Tarpeia's patriotism from reproach, and, as we learn from other sources, was an invention of the annalist Piso.

[2] *Tamen* has reference to a clause understood—namely, 'however this may be;' that is, 'whether Tarpeia was actuated by a treacherous or a patriotic motive'—it is nevertheless certain that the Sabines were masters of the citadel.

[3] The best manuscripts read *Hostius*, others *Hostus*. This was an old *praenomen*, given to those who were born among foreigners (*apud hostes*, according to the ancient expression).

[4] 'To thee as Juppiter the stayer, or supporter.' Romulus here gave Juppiter the cognomen of *Stator*, as on a former occasion he had given him that of *Feretrius*. We may again remark here, that the incidents of the narrative are connected with the explanation of the names of ancient localities in the city, or rather, indeed, that the whole story is but a collection of such explanations. Thus, in the valley at the foot of the Palatine there was for a long time a bog known as the *lacus Curtius*, which was afterwards filled up. Its name was variously explained, being by some derived from Mettius Curtius, a Sabine warrior mentioned in this chapter; by others from M. Curtius, a Roman knight, who is said to have leaped into it (361 B. C.) because the abyss could not otherwise be filled up.—See Livy, vii. 6.

est. Nec procul jam a porta Palatii erat, clamitans 'Vicimus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes. Jam sciunt longe aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare cum viris.' In eum haec gloriantem cum globo ferocissimorum juvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum forte Mettius pugnabat: eo pelli facilius fuit; pulsum Romani persequuntur. Et alia Romana acies, audacia regis accensa, fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem sese, strepitu sequentium trepidante[1] equo, conjecit; adverteratque ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem annuentibus ac vocantibus suis, favore multorum addito animo,[2] evadit: Romani Sabinique in media convalle duorum montium redintegrant proelium. Sed res Romana erat superior.

13. Tum Sabinae mulieres, quarum ex injuria bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste, victo malis muliebri pavore ausae se inter tela volantia inferre, ex transverso impetu facto dirimere[3] infesta acies dirimere iras, hinc patres hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum[4] progeniem. 'Si affinitatis inter vos, si connubii piget, in nos vertite iras. Nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac caedium viris ac parentibus sumus. Melius peribimus quam sine alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus.'[5] Movet res cum multitudinem tum duces: silentium et repentina fit quies. Inde ad foedus faciendum duces prodeunt: nec pacem modo sed[6] civitatem unam ex duabus

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[1] *Trepidare* is used here, as frequently, of a hasty and unsteady motion. Compare i. 7, *Concursus trepidantium pastorum.*

[2] 'Having received new courage from the favour shown towards him by the multitude.'

[3] *Tum .... dirimere*, the descriptive (historical) infinitive, for which might have been used either the imperfect *tum .... dirimebant*, or the historical present *tum .... dirimunt.*

[4] The *genitivus epexegeticus*, explanatory or definitive genitive; 'a progeny, consisting for the one party of grandchildren, and for the other of children.' This is a use of the genitive in Latin, for which modern languages more logically employ apposition; 'a progeny, for the one party grandchildren, for the other children.' See *Gram.* § 274.

[5] Deprived of their husbands, *viduae;* of their fathers, *orbae. Orbus* is either 'one deprived of his children,' or 'one deprived of his parents.' *Viduae aut orbae*, therefore, might mean either 'widowed or childless,' or 'widowed or fatherless;' but here, from the sense of the passage, the latter is meant.

[6] The manuscripts read merely *sed*, most of the editions *sed et;* but Livy is fond of the omission of *et* or *etiam* in cases such as this. In English, too, we frequently omit the 'also.' Thus here, 'they not only make peace, but [also] unite the two states into one.'

faciunt; regnum consociant, imperium omne conferunt Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati.[1] Monumentum ejus pugnae, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equus Curtium in vado[2] statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque cum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina earum curiis imposuit.[3] Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquanto numerus major hoc mulierum fuerit,[4] aetate an dignitatibus suis virorumve an sorte lectae sint, quae nomina curiis darent. Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae sunt. Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatio Titienses appellati. Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est.[5]

14. Inde non modo commune, sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit. Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tatii legatos Laurentium[6] pulsant; cumque Laurentes jure gentium agerent, apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus poterant. Igitur illorum poenam in se vertit: nam Lavinii,

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[1] From Livy's narrative we might be led to believe that the whole nation of the Sabines ceased at this time to have an independent existence, and became Roman. Such, however, was not the case till a much later period, when Rome had made herself the mistress of a great part of Italy. All the truth that can be gathered from this tradition is probably this, that at a very early period in Roman history a strong body of Sabines was added to the original population, which consisted principally of Latins. The Roman people were called in legal language *Quirites;* and if we admit that this word is of Sabine origin, and derived either from the name of the Sabine town *Cures*, or from the Sabine word *quiris*—'a spear' or 'lance,—we may naturally infer that the Sabines either formed the principal element in the early population of Rome, or were at least the most warlike citizens.

[2] 'On firm ground,' 'ground on which he could tread,' (*in quo vadere poterat*). This place, says Livy, and not the marsh or bog itself, was called *lacus Curtius*. The bog did not exist in Livy's time, but the name was still given to a part of the Forum.

[3] Another explanation of ancient names, which, however, is not admitted by other authors. Of the names of the thirty *curiae*, but few are known to us: Titia, Faucia, Rapta (which may have been the names of women); but Foriensis, Veliensis, and Tifata, appear to be of topographical origin.

[4] The order is *cum numerus mulierum haud dubie fuerit aliquanto major hoc (numero curiarum)*.

[5] Livy omits to mention that the earliest Roman population was divided into three *tribus*, to which these three *centuriae equitum* were attached. These centuries of knights probably consisted of patricians.

[6] This story shows us that even at that time the towns of Laurentum and Lavinium were very closely allied. See note i. 1.

cum ad sollemne sacrificium eo venisset, concursu facto interficitur. Eam rem minus aegre, quam dignum erat, tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud injuria caesum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit: ut tamen expiarentur legatorum injuriae regisque caedes, foedus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est.

Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat: aliud multo propius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fidenates[1] nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes rati, priusquam tantum roboris esset, quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Juventute armata immissa, vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas est. Inde ad laevam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum magna trepidatione agrestium populantur; tumultusque repens ex agris in urbem illatus pro nuntio fuit. Excitus Romulus (neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat) exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille passuum[2] locat. Ibi modico praesidio relicto, egressus omnibus copiis partem militum locis circa densa obsita virgulta obscuris[3] subsidere in insidiis jussit; cum parte majore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quaerebat, tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnae, adequitando ipsis prope portis, hostem excivit. Fugae quoque, quae simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minus mirabilem dedit. Et cum, velut inter pugnae fugaeque consilium

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[1] Wars between Rome and Fidenae are frequently mentioned in the early books of Livy. These came to a close, however, in the year 426 B. C. (Livy, iv. 34), when the Fidenates were subdued, and their city destroyed. After this, we hear of Fidenae only as an insignificant village. It was situated about six miles from Rome, near the junction of the Anio and Tiber. It was principally inhabited by Etruscans, and was in constant alliance with the wealthy and powerful Etruscan city of Veii, situated very near the Roman territory.

[2] That is, a Roman mile; for a *passus* equalled five Roman feet, being as much as a man could span with his legs extended. *Mille passus* might have been used instead of *mille passuum.*

[3] The explanation of these words is difficult. If nothing is altered, the translation is, 'he ordered a part of his soldiers to lie down in ambush in dark (shadowy) places round about thick overgrown brushwood.' We might correct thus, *locis circa denso obsitis virgulto;* 'in places darkened all around about by being overgrown with thick brushwood.' Livy uses only the form *virgultum* of the second declension, not *virgulta* of the first; otherwise the only change necessary would have been *obsita* into *obsitis*, thus putting *densa virgulta* in the ablative singular. The conjectural reading *locis circa denso obsitis virgulto et obscuris* is decidedly to be approved of so far as regards the sense, but varies too far from the manuscripts.

trepidante[1] equitatu, pedes quoque referret gradum, plenis repente portis effusi hostes, impulsa Romana acie,[2] studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostium aciem. Addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum, qui in praesidio relicti fuerant. Ita multiplici terrore perculsi Fidenates, prius pene quam Romulus, quique cum eo equis ierant, circumagerent frenis equos, terga vertunt; multoque effusius, quippe vera fuga,[3] qui simulantes paulo ante secuti erant, oppidum repetebant. Non tamen eripuere se hosti: haerens in tergo Romanus, priusquam fores portarum objicerentur, velut agmine uno irrumpit.[4]

15. Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Veientium animi et consanguinitate (nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt), et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat, in fines Romanos excucurrerunt, populabundi magis quam justi more belli. Itaque non castris positis, non expectato hostium exercitu, raptam ex agris praedam portantes Veios rediere. Romanus contra, postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus intentusque Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere et ad urbem accessurum Veientes audivere, obviam egressi, ut potius acie decernerent, quam inclusi de tectis moenibusque dimicarent. Ibi viribus nulla arte[5] adjutis, tantum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus vicit; persecutusque fusos ad moenia hostes, urbe valida muris ac situ ipso munita abstinuit, agros rediens vastat, ulciscendi magis quam praedae studio. Eaque clade, haud minus quam adversa pugna, subacti Veientes pacem petitum oratores

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[1] 'Moving about hesitatingly,' as if undecided whether to fight or flee.

[2] 'As the Roman line retired.' *Impulsa* seems here to have the sense of the Greek middle *se impellente*, rather than that of *a Fidenatibus impulsa.*

[3] The ablative, 'because in true flight,' or 'because actually fleeing.' This clause with *quippe* is abbreviated for *quippe qui vera fuga urbem repeterent*, exactly as in English. *Simulantes*, accusative governed by *secuti*, refers to the Romans, and requires the supplement of *fugam* from the preceding clause.

[4] Thus Fidenae was taken, and, as Livy incidentally mentions (i. 27), it was made a Roman colony. This, however—even if the statement can be depended on, which is very doubtful—did not in the least abate the hostile feeling of the inhabitants towards the Romans.

[5] 'Not assisted by any trick (*ruse de guerre*,)' as was the case in the war with the Fidenates.

Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis in centum annos indutiae datae.[1]

Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta, quorum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque post mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno avito recuperando, non condendae urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandae.[2] Ab illo enim profectu viribus datis tantum valuit,[3] ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam Patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus militum animis. Trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum sed etiam in pace habuit.

16. His immortalibus editis operibus, cum ad exercitum recensendum contionem in campo[4] ad Caprae paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum ejus contioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes, sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat Patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta[5] maestum aliquandiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio facto, Deum Deo natum, regem parentemque

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[1] It was an Etruscan custom to make a peace for a specified number of years, as we shall often see in the continuation of Livy's history. This peace, however, at least according to Livy, did not last so long as was agreed to; for (i. 27) we find Tullus Hostilius, the third king of Rome, engaged in a war with the Veientes; unless, indeed, we assume that in that war, as well as in one mentioned in chapter 30, the state of Veii was not concerned, but only a number of citizens who acted independently of the government. The tradition on which Livy's story is founded leads us to think that the youthful city of Rome acquired strength and power at the expense of the wealthy Veientes, and that all the territory which the Romans at this time possessed on the north of the Tiber had been taken from Veii. This point is of some importance for the filling up of the story of Porsenna.

[2] Livy says that all the actions attributed to Romulus were in harmony with the supposition that he was the son of a god; and with this remark he introduces the story of the circumstances under which the monarch's life terminated, and of his recognition as a divinity.

[3] 'From this favourable advance the state grew so powerful,' &c. *Profectus* is 'a step forward.' Under Romulus the state began and made its first step to greatness.

[4] Understand *Martio.*

[5] Equivalent to *perculsa*, 'struck.' Compare v. 21, *velut repentino icti furore;* and xxvii. 9, *nova re consules icti.*

urbis Romanae salvere universi Romulum jubent;[1] pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos qui discerptum regem Patrum manibus taciti arguerent: manavit enim haec quoque, sed perobscura fama.[2] Illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor[3] praesens nobilitavit. Consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Julius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa Patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor,[4] in contionem prodit. 'Romulus' inquit, 'Quirites, parens urbis hujus, prima hodierna luce coelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundusque adstitissem, petens precibus ut contra intueri[5] fas esset, Abi, nuntia, inquit, Romanis, Coelestes ita velle ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit. Proinde rem militarem colant; sciantque, et ita posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse. 'Haec' inquit 'locutus sublimis abiit.' Mirum quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fidei[6] fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide immortalitatis lenitum sit.

17. Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat. Necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat: factionibus inter ordines cer-

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[1] They shouted *salve deus, salve Romule!* a sign that they recognised him as an immortal, and consequently as still alive. Had they believed him to be absolutely dead, they would have uttered the sad cry of *vale!* The word *pacem* in the next clause has the force of *gratiam, tutelam, ut ipsis benignus sit.*

[2] *Haec fama manavit*, 'this report has gone abroad,' or 'become current' — namely, the report that Romulus was murdered by the Fathers. Livy seems to think this story not an improbable one. In the tradition of the translation of Romulus into heaven, we find only an attempt to account for the popular belief that he had become a god, and, as Quirinus, watched over the city which he had founded.

[3] *Pavor*, 'fear,' probably of the Fathers, towards whom the common people had no friendly feelings, and who, they must instinctively have thought, had killed their king. The *pavor* might also be explained as the natural consequence of the great tempest which had lately burst over them.

[4] 'A highly-trustworthy authority for any story, however incredible it might seem' (literally, 'for a thing however great'). *Quamvis*, used adverbially, equivalent here to *quantumvis*. Compare ii. 54, *nec auctor quamvis audaci facinori deerat.*

[5] That is, 'to look him in the face.' When prayer was made to a god, the suppliant usually directed his eyes towards the ground.

[6] The most ancient manuscripts have *fides*, and it is not improbable that Livy may have written so; for the genitive singular of the fifth declension ended originally in *eis*—thus *fideis*, contracted either into *fides* or into the ordinary form *fidei*. See *Gram.* § 73, note 2.

tabatur.[1] Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tatii mortem ab sua parte non erat regnatum, in societate aequa possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant; Romani veteres peregrinum regem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari[2] tamen omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum experta. Timor deinde Patres incessit,[3] ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce, multarum circa civitatium irritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat, et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum Patres, decem decuriis factis, singulisque in singulas decurias creatis,[4] qui summae rerum praeessent, consociant. Decem imperitabant, unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat; quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium, ac per omnes in orbem ibat; annuumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen,[5] interregnum appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos; nec ultra nisi regem, et ab ipsis creatum, videbantur passuri. Cum sensissent ea moveri Patres, offerendum ultro rati quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt, summa potestate populo permissa, ut non plus darent juris, quam retinerent.[6] Decreverunt

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[1] 'The striving for the government (*certamen regni*) had not yet gone so far as single persons' (that is, the question was not whether this or that leading man should be made king), 'the struggle was rather by factions between the orders' — that is, the dispute was rather whether the king should be chosen from the order or body (*ordo, corpus*) of the Sabines, or from that of the original Latin Romans. The manuscripts read *a singulis*, but *ad singulos*, a conjecture of Graevius, is unquestionably the correct reading.

[2] *Regnari*, 'that there should be a king,' or 'that the government should be monarchical.' *Expertus*, the participle of a deponent verb, is used here passively. Compare i. 34, *ad fin.*

[3] *Incedere* governs either the accusative or the dative. In Livy the former construction is the more common, particularly when the subject is a feeling or emotion of the mind, and the verb may be translated 'to seize, take possession of,' as here. The dative, however, even in a case of this kind, occurs in iv. 57, *gravior cura Patribus incessit*. See Zumpt, § 387.

[4] 'One being chosen for each *decuria*.' *In*, used distributively, as *per*.

[5] 'Even now (in the time of the republic) the name is in use:' for during the republic an *interrex* was sometimes named by the senate, when by any chance there was no ordinary curule magistrate in the state; when, for instance, the elections were obstructed, and the time of one magistrate expired before a successor was appointed. Such an *interrex*, like those mentioned by Livy here, held office for five days.

[6] Most of the manuscripts read *detinerent*, but this compound ('to hinder') does not seem very suitable.

enim, ut, cum populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si Patres auctores[1] fierent. Hodieque[2] in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem jus, vi adempta: priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum Patres auctores fiunt.[3] Tum interrex, contione advocata, 'Quod bonum, faustum felixque sit'[4] inquit, 'Quirites, regem create: ita Patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur crearitis, auctores fient.' Adeo id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id modo sciscerent juberentque, ut senatus decerneret, qui Romae regnaret.

18. Inclita justitia religioque ea tempestate Numae Pompilii erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consultissimus[5] vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate poterat, omnis divini atque humani juris. Auctorem doctrinae ejus, quia non extat alius, falso Samium Pythagoram edunt, quem Servio Tullio regnante Romae, centum amplius post annos, in ultima Italiae ora, circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotona, juvenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse[6] constat. Ex

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[1] *Auctor* is not only one who first mentions or produces anything, but also one who confirms and ratifies a thing, and thereby makes it take effect. Compare ii. 56, note.

[2] 'And (still) at the present time.' Many manuscripts read *hodie quoque*, but a conjunction seems necessary for the connection.

[3] This was an ordinance of the *lex Publilia*, passed in the year 339 B.C. (Livy, viii. 12, *ad fin*). That law took away a great portion of the influence which the senate exercised over the democratic element of the constitution, the senate being made to give its formal assent to the resolutions of the *comitia* before they were passed. Here was the *usus*, all *vis* being taken away.

[4] A common formal introduction to a legal document or set speech, similar to our 'In the name of God, amen,' or to another Latin phrase in frequent use, *quod bene vertat*. In *quod bonum, faustum*, &c. observe the tautology, 'good, health (prosperity)-bringing, and fortunate.' Such pleonasms are frequent in legal formulae: another occurs in the next sentence, *sciscerent juberentque*. The conjunction in such cases is very often omitted. Compare Zumpt, § 742, *ad fin.*

[5] Equivalent to *peritissimus*, the usual expression *juris* (*jure*) *consultus* being here made use of.

[6] 'Formed clubs of the youths who emulated (followed, adopted) his views.' The school of Pythagoras was distinguished by this peculiarity, that his disciples adopted not only his philosophical tenets, but also his political and moral principles, and were formed into clubs, which exerted themselves to gain political influence in the Greek states of Southern Italy, and thereby drew upon themselves political persecution. Livy justly discredits the statement of some old annalists, that the renowned wisdom of Numa was derived from Pythagoras. Its nature was not philosophical, but purely religious, and derived from constant intercourse with the wise priests of his nation.

quibus locis, etsi ejusdem aetatis fuisset, qua fama in Sabinos[1] aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset? quove praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas sermone moribusque pervenisset? Suopte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis, instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus, quam disciplina tetrica[2] ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit. Audito nomine Numae Patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos, rege inde sumpto, videbantur, tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec denique Patrum aut civium quemquam praeferre illi viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato[3] urbe condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli jussit. Inde ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit,[4] deductus in arcem in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur ad laevam ejus, capite velato, sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto, deos precatus, regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem esse dixit,[5] signum contra, quo longissime

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[1] 'By what fame reaching to the Sabines.'

[2] 'Gloomy.' *Tetricus* is said by the ancients to be a Sabine word, though it may perhaps be connected with the Latin adjective *taeter*. *Genus*, in the following clause, is equivalent to *gens*, *natio*.

[3] An adverb, or rather an ablative absolute, derived from the participle, and signifying 'after the auguries had been observed;' that is, 'with the approval of the gods.'

[4] Livy refers the opinion universally held by the Romans, that the office of an augur was a public priesthood, and to be held for life, to this incident. The cause of his doing so is to be found in that natural propensity which we have to attribute all old political arrangements to some particular occasion and individual. The ceremony, described as having been gone through by the augur in this case, was the common one in after-days. *Honoris ergo*, equivalent to *honoris causa*. *Ergo*, in this sense, is ordinarily used only in legal formulae; for example, *miles virtutis ergo donatus*.

[5] The augur—as we are expressly told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who was a contemporary of Livy, and wrote in Greek a history of Rome from the earliest times up to the Punic wars—had his face turned to the east. It is therefore quite plain how, when he drew the line on the heavens over his head from east to west, the south side of the sky was on his right, and the north on his left. The left side was with the Romans the lucky one, and therefore *sinistrum*, as an augural term, was equivalent to *faustum*. On this account the Latin etymologists derived *sinister* from the verb *sinere*, because an omen on the left hand 'permitted' (*sineret*) something to be done.

conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit,[1] tum lituo in laevam manum translato, dextra in caput Numae imposita, precatus ita est. 'Juppiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pompilium, cujus ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa acclarassis[2] inter eos fines, quos feci.' Tum peregit verbis auspicia, quae mitti vellet.[3] Quibus missis declaratus rex Numa de templo[4] descendit.

19. Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, jure eam[5] legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus cum inter bella assuescere videret non posse, quippe[6] efferari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Janum ad infimum Argiletum[7] indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret. Bis deinde

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[1] 'He fixed in his mind the sign opposite, as far as he could see; that is, he made up his mind and prepared himself to seek for a sign in the quarter of the heavens opposite to him, and at the extreme point of vision. The augur therefore directed his attention solely to a part of the heavens in which an omen would be favourable, and did not at all observe the unlucky side. Those who take advantage of the superstitious feelings of others generally know very well how to suit their *dicta* to the wishes and likings of the credulous. Such was certainly the system in the later ages of Rome, but it may be doubted whether it was really in practice so early as the time of Numa, when in all probability the augurs themselves believed in the truth of their art, and the observation of the heavens was consequently more than a mere form.

[2] Equivalent to *clara feceris*. *Acclarassis* is an old form of a rare verb which is only used in this technical sense. Regarding the form of the perfect subjunctive in *assim-is-it* for *averim-is-it*, see *Gram.* § 146, 6. The *uti* (*ut*) depends upon *precor* understood. *Acclarassis*, being in the perfect for the present tense, expresses a wish for speedy completion or fulfilment, exactly as the future-perfect indicative when used for the future. See *Gram.* § 338, note 3.

[3] 'He enumerated those appearances in the sky which he wished to be sent.'

[4] 'From the consecrated place of observation.' See i. 6.

[5] This pronoun being used here for the sake of emphasis, has the sense of *eandem*. See Zumpt, § 744, *prope fin.*

[6] See p. 36, note 3.

[7] The name of a part of the lower city near the Tiber, and afterwards called *Forum Olitorium*. The *Janus* was a gate, with a statue of the god Janus in a niche, which connected two very busy parts of the city, and the shutting of which greatly interrupted traffic. Regarding this gate the belief arose that it could be shut only when the Romans were at peace with all the world. It was therefore shut very seldom, and only for short periods. Numa's whole reign was peaceful. This was considered to be an historical fact, which was commonly expressed thus, 'During his whole reign the Janus was shut.' Now as all institutions relating to religion

post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule,[1] post Punicum primum perfectum bellum; iterum, quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto, pace terra marique parta. Clauso eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac foederibus junxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis, ne luxuriarent[2] otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum injiciendum ratus est.[3] Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse: ejus se monitu, quae acceptissima[4] diis essent, sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficere. Atque omnium primum ad cursus lunae in duodecim menses describit annum;[5] quem, quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque dies solido anno, qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe, intercalares menses interponendo ita dispensavit, ut vicesimo anno[6] ad metam eandem solis, unde orsi essent, plenis omnium annorum spatiis dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit, quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi[7] utile futurum erat.

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and peace, whose actual origin was unknown, were attributed to Numa, the annalists invented the story that Numa erected the Janus, and made the regulations regarding it.

[1] In the year 235 B.C., when the Sardinians were subdued. This conquest, however, was not permanent.

[2] Other editions read *luxuriarentur*, but the active form, which is, generally speaking, the more common, is better here.

[3] A strange view of the case, showing that Livy, and those whose statements he followed, looked upon religion as merely a political institution.

[4] Equivalent to *gratissima*, 'most agreeable.'

[5] Before the time of Numa, the year had been divided into ten months of various lengths, probably according to the rising of the constellations which regulated agriculture. Traces of this old division were to be seen in the names of *Quintilis* (July), *Sextilis* (August), and still exist in September, October, November, December. These names are plainly derived from the Latin numerals, the numbering being made from March, which was the first month. Numa divided the year into twelve months, adding *Januarius* and *Februarius*, with the latter of which he closed it. These twelve months were lunar, of twenty-eight days each, and therefore, in order to adjust the year to the course of the sun, a whole lunar month additional had to be inserted every few years. These inserted months were called *menses intercalares*.

[6] This is the reading of the manuscripts; the more modern editions read *quarto et vicesimo quoque anno*. This, however, is not necessary for the adjustment of the lunar to the solar year.

[7] Courts and popular assemblies, in the latter of which *cum populo*

20. Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adjecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime, quae nunc ad Dialem flaminem[1] pertinent. Sed quia in civitate bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numae similes reges putabat fore, iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis[2] desererentur, flaminem Jovi assiduum sacerdotem creavit, insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella[3] adornavit. Huic duos flamines adjecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino. Virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris[4] haud alienum. His, ut assiduae templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit; virginitate aliisque caerimoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit, tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit, et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen; coelestiaque arma,[5] quae ancilia appellantur, ferre, ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis[6] sollemnique saltatu jussit. Pontificem deinde Numam Marcium,[7] Marci filium, ex Patribus legit, eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur.[8] Cetera quoque omnia pub-

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agebatur, could be held only on *dies fasti*. As no learned Roman could give any valid reason why a great many days were marked in the calendar as *nefasti*, or could state their origin, their institution was, as a matter of course, attributed to Numa.

[1] The same who is called in the following sentence *sacerdos Jovis*. He was obliged to remain constantly at Rome (to be *assiduus*). *Flamen* was the name given to the peculiar priest of a divinity in early times, whilst *sacerdos* is applied generally to any one invested with a priestly office; for example, to an *augur* or a *pontifex*. *Sacerdos* is also the proper designation of the peculiar priest of any of the more modern gods; that is, of one not deified in the early or ante-historic times.

[2] 'To which it was the king's duty to attend;' equivalent to *regii muneris*.

[3] *Sella curulis*, 'chair of office,' or 'of state,' probably from *cura*. The higher magistrates had the privilege of sitting upon a finely-adorned chair whilst hearing and deciding causes.

[4] The *gens* of Romulus was that of the Silvii, and Rea Silvia, his mother, had been a vestal.

[5] *Arma* means here 'shields,' and indeed generally the word has principal reference to them. One of these *ancilia* was said to have fallen from heaven, and was regarded as a pledge of divine assistance. In order to prevent its being stolen, eleven others were made exactly like it, to which of course no virtue was attached. So say Dionysius, and Plutarch in his life of Numa.

[6] *Tripudium* means 'a stamping tread with the feet,' and is derived from *terram pavire*.

[7] Son-in-law of King Numa, and father of *Ancus Marcius*, the fourth king of Rome. See i. 32.

[8] The *pontifex maximus*, therefore, had what we may call the rent-

lica privataque sacra pontificis scitis subjecit, ut esset quo consultum plebes veniret,[1] ne quid divini juris negligendo patrios ritus peregrinosque adsciscendo turbaretur; nec coelestes modo ceremonias, sed justa quoque funebria placandosque manes ut idem pontifex edoceret, quaeque prodigia fulminibus aliove quo visu[2] missa susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Jovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit, deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

21. Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudine omni a vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et deorum assidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis coeleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum proxime legum ac poenarum metum[3] civitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis velut unici[4] exempli mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui ante[5] castra, non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum

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roll of the gods, the list of their revenues, which were derived principally from landed property, and were devoted to defraying the expenses of sacrifices, &c. The college of *pontifices*, with the *pontifex maximus* at its head, had full authority from the state to superintend and manage everything connected with the worship of the gods. Their duties included also the performance of funeral rites, and the preservation of public documents.

[1] 'That the *plebs* might have a place to which they could go and apply for advice.'

[2] *Visus*, properly 'a seeing;' here, as frequently, 'a thing seen, an appearance;' *suscipere*, 'to take up as,' 'to regard as.' Compare xliii. 13, *duo non suscepta prodigia sunt*. *Curare* or *procurare*, 'to take care of;' that is 'to perform such religious ceremonies as might make the best of a prodigy, preparing the way for the reception of any good which was prognosticated, and averting as far as possible any threatened calamity.

[3] 'Like the fear of law and punishment.' *Propior*, *proximus*, *propius*, and *proxime*, being derived from the preposition *prope*, 'near,' may govern the accusative. The manuscripts read *proximo metu*, and *proxime metum* is merely a conjecture of Muretus. This conjecture, however, is preferable to the manuscript reading, because, according to the latter, the *metus legum ac poenarum*, though not so influential as the *fides ac jusjurandum*, still exists and operates; whereas the former implies that the *metus*, not being necessary for the preservation of social order, is entirely gone, and that a strong religious feeling has come in its place.

[4] *Unicus* refers not to number, but to excellence, 'pre-eminent in its kind.' Compare xxii. 14.

[5] *Ante* is here not the preposition, as its position before *castra* might lead us to think, but an adverb, equivalent to *antea*.

versam deorum violari ducerent nefas. Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua; quo quia se persaepe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum deae inferebat, Camenis[1] eum lucum sacravit, quod earum ibi concilia cum conjuge sua Egeria essent. Et soli Fidei[2] sollemne instituit. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis, curru arcuato,[3] vehi jussit, manuque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, significantes fidem tutandam sedemque ejus etiam in dextris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit: omnium tamen maximum ejus operum fuit tutela, per omne regni tempus, haud minor pacis quam regni.[4]

Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta regnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum[5] valida, tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

22. Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostilii, cujus in infima arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus jussit; Patres auctores[6] facti. Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis, sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit. Cum aetas viresque, tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus undique materiam excitandi belli quaerebat. Forte evenit ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro, Albani ex Romano praedas invicem agerent. Imperitabat tum G. Cluilius Albae. Utrimque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus praeceperat suis, ne quid prius quam mandata agerent: satis sciebat negaturum Albanum: ita pie[7] bellum

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[1] The *Camenae* were singing and prophetic goddesses, who were identified with the Greek *Musae*. Their name seems to be derived from *Carmen;* and Carmenta, the prophetic mother of Evander (Livy, i. 7), was nothing but a Camena. The cave near Rome, called the Grotto of Egeria, can scarcely have been in the ancient grove of the Camenae, which was probably situated nearer the city.

[2] 'To Fides for herself alone,' *separatim*, distinguishing this from the consecration of the grove to all the Camenae.

[3] 'In a chariot with two horses yoked in the form of a bow.'

[4] That is, he preserved peace, and at the same time maintained the royal dignity and power.

[5] All the manuscripts read properly *cum-tum*, the editions erroneously *tum-tum*.

[6] See note, i. 17.

[7] That is, without violating treaties, which were protected by the gods. Livy himself, to judge from his narrative, seems not to have been quite satisfied with this formal fear of the gods, which was only a colour for selfishness.

indici posse. Albanis socordius res acta: excepti hospitio ab Tullo blande ac benigne, comiter regis convivium celebrant. Tantisper[1] Romani et res repetiverant priores, et neganti Albano bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. Haec renuntiant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, quid petentes venerint, facit. Illi omnium ignari primum purgando terunt tempus: Se invitos quicquam quod minus placeat Tullo dicturos, sed imperio subigi: res repetitum se venisse; ni reddantur, bellum indicere jussos. Ad haec Tullus 'Nuntiate,' inquit, 'regi vestro regem Romanum deos facere testes, uter prius populus res repetentes legatos aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant[2] hujusce clades belli.'

23. Haec nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope inter parentes natosque, Trojanam utramque prolem, cum Lavinium ab Troja, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus tamen belli minus miserabilem dimicationem fecit, quod nec acie certatum est, et tectis modo dirutis alterius urbis duo populi in unum confusi sunt. Albani priores ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere. Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque milia passuum locant, fossa circumdant: fossa Cluilia ab nomine ducis per aliquot saecula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quoque vetustate abolevit.[3] In his castris Cluilius Albanus rex moritur; dictatorem Albani Mettium Fufetium creant. Interim Tullus ferox, praecipue morte regis, magnumque deorum numen ab ipso capite orsum in omne nomen Albanum[4] expetiturum poenas ob bellum impium dictitans, nocte praeteritis hostium castris, infesto exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit Mettium: ducit qua proxime ad hostem potest;[5] inde legatum

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[1] 'So much the sooner.' *Tantisper* is here applied to a short period of time. This sense, however, is not in the word itself, for in i. 3 (*ad init.*) it expresses a much longer period.

[2] *Expetere* should properly be construed with *ab*, but *in* with the accusative occurs also in the next chapter, *numen . . . . in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum poenas.* The idea which leads to the use of this construction is, that the gods, according to an eternal necessity, bring punishments upon (that is, against, *in*) particular mortals.

[3] From *abolesco*, which is intransitive, 'I go out of existence:' *aboleo* is transitive, 'I annihilate,' or 'send out of existence.'

[4] See i. 10, note.

[5] 'By the nearest way.' The manuscripts read *quam*, and *qua* is merely a conjecture of Gronovius. The sense given by *qua*, however, seems to us preferable to the other.

praemissum nuntiare Tullo jubet, priusquam dimicent, opus esse colloquio: si secum congressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum, quae nihilo minus ad rem Romanam quam ad Albanam pertineant. Haud aspernatus Tullus, tametsi vana afferebantur,[1] in aciem educit. Exeunt contra et Albani. Postquam instructi utrimque stabant, cum paucis procerum in medium duces procedunt. Ibi infit[2] Albanus. 'Injurias et non redditas res ex foedere, quae repetitae sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluilium, causam hujusce esse belli, audisse videor,[3] nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem prae te ferre. Sed si vera potius quam dictu speciosa dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos vicinosque populos ad arma stimulat. Neque recte an perperam, interpretor: fuerit ista ejus deliberatio, qui bellum suscepit: me Albani gerendo bello ducem creavere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim. Etrusca res quanta circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propiores vos,[4] hoc magis scis. Multum illi terra, plurimum mari pollent. Memor esto jam, cum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque, simul victorem ac victum, aggrediantur. Itaque si nos dii amant, quoniam non contenti libertate certa in dubiam imperii servitiique aleam[5] imus, ineamus aliquam viam, qua utri utris imperent, sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque populi decerni possit.' Haud displicet res Tullo, quamquam cum indole animi tum spe victoriae ferocior erat. Quaerentibus utrimque ratio initur,[6] cui et fortuna ipsa praebuit materiam.

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[1] 'Although the message of the ambassador had nothing tangible in it,' since he did not state any plan for settling the differences without a war.

[2] 'Begins,' namely, to speak. *Infit*, a third person singular, is not unfrequently used by poets and by Livy in this sense, though this is a grammatical irregularity, *fio* being properly used as the passive of *facio*.

[3] *Prae se tulisse* must be supplied from the following *prae te ferre:* 'I think I have heard that, on the one hand, our king Cluilius put forward wrongs, &c. as the cause of this war, and I have no doubt that you, Tullus, on the other, put forward the same things.' *Mihi videor*, or simply *videor*, 'I think,' or 'it appears to me that.'

[4] A conjectural reading was necessary here. The manuscripts have *quo propior es Volscis*, but as the Volscians have nothing to do with the Etruscans, some have proposed to read *Veiis*, others *Tuscis*. Our reading, we think, is simpler, and at the same time gives a very good sense: 'the nearer you are, the better thou knowest.' The use of the plural *vos* [*estis*] in the one clause, and of the singular *scis* in the next, need not startle us, for *vos* means 'yourself and your people.'

[5] 'Throw' (of the dice), used figuratively for *discrimen*, 'decision.'

[6] 'A plan or an arrangement is entered into.'

24. Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini fratres, nec aetate nec viribus dispares. Horatios Curiatiosque fuisse satis constat; nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior: tamen in re tam clara nominum error[1] manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores utroque trahunt:[2] plures tamen invenio, qui Romanos Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar, inclinat animus. Cum trigeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro: ibi imperium fore, unde[3] victoria fuerit. Nihil recusatur; tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent, foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus, ut, cujusque[4] populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret. Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia fiunt.[5] Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior foederis memoria est. Fetialis regem Tullum ita rogavit 'Jubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani foedus ferire?' Jubente rege, 'sagmina,' inquit, 'te, rex, posco.' Rex ait 'Puram[6] tollito.' Fetialis ex arce graminis herbam puram attulit. Postea regem ita rogavit 'Rex, facisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium? vasa[7] co-

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[1] *Error* means here not 'a mistake,' but 'an uncertainty.'

[2] We may translate this by 'pull both ways,' since the phrase seems to be taken from horses in a carriage pulling different ways, and thus drawing the vehicle sometimes to one side, sometimes to another. The meaning here is, that some authors make the Horatii Romans, others Albans, and the same with the Curiatii. The expression *utraque trahunt* is concise: *alii alio trahunt* would mean nearly the same thing; not, however, implying, as the other does that there were but two parties.

[3] Properly *ubi*, but we may say *ab hac parte victoria est* or *stat*.

[4] Properly *cujuscunque;* nay, we ought perhaps to correct the reading so. *Quandoque* frequently occurs in Livy for *quandocunque;* for example, i. 31, *quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur*. Compare Zumpt, § 288, note.

[5] This *modus* is described by Livy according to the most ancient example. The observance of the formalities required at the conclusion of a treaty was committed in the Roman state to the charge of a college of priests called *Fetiales*. At any transaction of this kind the college delegated three of its members to attend, the chief of whom was called *pater patratus;* that is, the father charged with the duty of completing (*patrare*) the business. A particular kind of grass herbs (*sagmina*) from the Capitol was necessary at the sacrifice. These were called *verbenae*, or sacrificial herbs, the word being probably derived from *verber*, *verberare*, because these herbs were used at the slaughter of the victim. The rest of the formula (*carmen*) is given by Livy.

[6] Supply *herbam*. The king gives orders to bring that which the *fetialis*, well acquainted with the ceremony, had ready.

[7] 'Furniture,' everything belonging to them, which was by this formality placed under the protection of the rights of ambassage.

mitesque meos?' Rex respondit 'Quod sine fraude mea[1] populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio.' Fetialis erat M. Valerius; is patrem patratum Sp. Fusium fecit, verbena caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad jusjurandum patrandum, id est sanciendum fit foedus: multisque id verbis, quae longo effata carmine non operae est[2] referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis, 'Audi' inquit, 'Juppiter; audi, pater patrate populi Albani; audi tu, populus Albanus.[3] Ut illa palam prima postrema[4] ex illis tabulis cerave recitata sunt sine dolo malo, utique[5] ea hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit[6] publico consilio, dolo malo, tum illo die, Juppiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam; tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque.' Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina Albani suumque jusjurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

25. Foedere icto trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma capiunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, feroces et suopte ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus, in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes: quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo[7] erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animo intenduntur. Datur signum, infestisque armis velut acies terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo, futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit; et neutro inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde manibus, cum

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[1] 'Without any detriment to myself.' This was a part of the usual formula, expressing a wish that, in treating with another party, no detriment may be sustained by one's own interests.

[2] 'It is not worth while.'

[3] As to this ancient use of the nominative for the vocative, see *Gram.* § 311, note.

[4] 'The first and the last, from the beginning to the end.' *Prima postrema* have here, as is common in legal and religious formulae, no conjunction connecting them. Compare i. 17, note.

[5] Not the verb *utique*, but *et uti* or *et ut*.

[6] Ancient form for *defecerit*. Compare i. 18, note on *aeclarassis*.

[7] A tautology, which occurs also in Terence, and in several other passages of Livy.

jam non motus tantum corporum agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani, super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, expirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones jam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat, exanimes vice[1] unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere affectum corpus sineret. Jam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In eum magno impetu rediit. Et dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis, uti opem ferant fratri, jam Horatius caeso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat. Tum clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet,[2] Romani adjuvant militem suum; et ille defungi proelio festinat. Prius itaque quam alter, qui nec[3] procul aberat, consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit. Jamque aequato Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares. Alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabat; alter fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se strage, victori objicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium fuit.[4] Romanus exsultans 'Duos' inquit 'fratrum Manibus[5] dedi: tertium causae belli hujusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.' Male sustinenti arma gladium superne[6] jugulo defigit, jacentem spoliat. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt, eo majore cum gaudio, quo prope[7] metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae facti. Sepulcra extant quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.

26. Priusquam inde digrederentur, roganti Mettio, ex foedere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus, uti juventutem in armis habeat: usurum se eorum opera, si bellum cum Veien-

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[1] See i. 9. note.

[2] As, in the amphitheatre, a gladiator who has unexpectedly come off victorious is greeted with the applause of the spectators.

[3] 'Also not.' Fully *nec ipse*. See Zumpt, § 698, *ad fin.*

[4] 'And that was not a battle,' supply, 'but a butchery,' the Alban being unable to defend himself.

[5] 'To the departed spirits of my brothers.' It may be noticed that *Manes* has *a* long; *manus*, 'the hand,' *a* short.

[6] 'From above.'

[7] An irregularity for *propius*. See Zumpt, § 690, with note.

tibus foret. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius ibat, trigemina[1] spolia prae se gerens; cui soror virgo, quae desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam[2] fuit; cognitoque super humeros fratris paludamento sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines, et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat. Movet[3] feroci juveni animum comploratio sororis in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto itaque gladio, simul verbis increpans, transfigit puellam. 'Abi hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum,' inquit, 'oblita fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriae. Sic eat, quaecunque Romana lugebit hostem.' Atrox visum id facinus Patribus plebique; sed recens meritum facto obstabat: tamen raptus in jus ad regem. Rex ne ipse tam tristis ingratique ad vulgus judicii ac[4] secundum judicium supplicii auctor esset, concilio populi advocato, 'Duumviros,' inquit, 'qui Horatio perduellionem judicent,[5] secundum legem facio.' Lex horrendi carminis[6] erat: 'Duumviri perduellionem judicent. Si a duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato. Si vincent,[7] caput obnubito; infelici arbori reste suspendito;[8] verberato vel intra pomoerium vel extra pomoerium.' Hac lege duumviri creati, qui se absolvere non rebantur ea lege, ne innoxium quidem, posse,[9] cum con-

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[1] The adjective *trigeminus* is here used in the sense of 'belonging to the *trigemini*.' In the same manner we might say *mors trigemina*, by poetical license, for *mors trigeminorum*.

[2] This gate was on the road to Capua, and received its name from that circumstance.

[3] 'Enrages,' not 'touches;' we must therefore mentally supply *ira*.

[4] The manuscripts read *ad*, which must be changed either into *aut* or *ac*. We prefer *ac*, because, as is plain from what follows, the king had no doubt as to the condemnation of Horatius.

[5] This strange construction must be explained by supposing the meaning to be something like this, 'who shall bring home *perduellio* to Horatius;' that is, shall examine into the circumstances, and shall then declare Horatius to be guilty of the crime of *perduellio*. *Perduellio* is an act of open hostility, being derived from *duellum*, equivalent to *bellum*.

[6] Compare i. 24, note.

[7] *Scil. apud populum*, or *in contione*. The meaning, therefore, is, if the judgment of the *duumviri*, that *perduellio* has been committed, shall be confirmed by the people.

[8] *Arbori*, an old form for *arbore*. Any wild barren tree might be called *infelix arbor*, but the reference in this law is to that *arborum infelicissima*, the gibbet. The imperative in the law refers to the judge, 'he shall hang him;' that is, 'cause him to be hanged.'

[9] Because the law said nothing of *malice prépense*, or the circumstances connected with the murder, but mentioned merely the act itself.

demnassent, tum alter ex his 'P. Horati, tibi perduellionem judico' inquit: 'lictor, colliga manus.' Accesserat lictor, injiciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, 'Provoco' inquit. Ita de provocatione[1] certatum ad populum est. Moti homines sunt in eo judicio maxime P. Horatio patre proclamante, se filiam jure caesam judicare: ni ita esset, patrio jure in filium animadversurum fuisse. Orabat deinde, ne se, quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe conspexissent, orbum liberis facerent. Inter haec senex juvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatiorum fixa eo loco, qui nunc Pila Horatia[2] appellatur, ostentans, 'Huncine,' ajebat, 'quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, Quirites, eum[3] sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis? quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent. I, lictor, colliga manus, quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo Romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis hujus; arbore infelici suspende; verbera vel intra pomoerium, modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pomoerium, modo inter sepulcra Curiatiorum. Quo enim ducere hunc juvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum a tanta foeditate supplicii vindicent?' Non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum; absolveruntque admiratione magis virtutis quam jure causae. Itaque ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri, ut filium expiaret pecunia publica.[4] Is quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt,[5] transmisso per viam tigillo, capite adoperto[6] velut sub jugum misit juvenem. Id hodie quoque publice sem-

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[1] In the law as quoted by Livy the expression is simply *provocatione certato.* We have here *de provocatione*, which must be taken in the same sense 'regarding the appeal,' whether it should be favourably or unfavourably received.

[2] The name of *Pila Horatia* (*pila* being the plural of *pilum*, but used in the sense of *pila-ae*, 'a pillar') was given to an ancient trophy in the Roman forum. This trophy, supposed by some to have consisted of three poles or columns on one pedestal, was connected by tradition with the Alban War and the Horatii.

[3] 'This same man can you see;' a lively repetition of the pronoun. See i. 19, note.

[4] The expenses of the expiatory sacrifices were therefore paid out of the public treasury.

[5] 'Which from that time were kept up by the *gens Horatia*.'

[6] 'With his head covered,' equivalent to *operto;* for *ad* merely expresses the fact, that the covering now put on was in addition to his ordinary cap.

per refectum manet: sororium tigillum[1] vocant. Horatiae sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

27. Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi, quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit, vanum ingenium dictatoris corrupit; et quoniam recta consilia haud bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium animos coepit. Igitur ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animorum plus quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque ex edicto[2] gerundum alios concitat populos, suis per speciem societatis proditionem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Romana, Veientibus sociis consilii assumptis, pacto transitionis Albanorum[3] ad bellum atque arma incitantur. Cum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus, Mettio exercituque ejus ab Alba accito, contra hostes ducit; ubi Anienem transiit, ad confluentes collocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim transierat. Hi et in acie prope flumen tenuere dextrum cornu; in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistunt. Tullus adversus Veientem hostem dirigit suos, Albanos contra legionem[4] Fidenatium collocat. Albano non plus animi erat quam fidei: nec manere ergo nec transire aperte ausus sensim ad montes succedit. Inde, ubi satis subisse sese ratus est,[5] erigit totam aciem, fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempus, ordines explicat. Consilium erat, qua fortuna rem daret,[6] ea inclinare vires. Miraculo primo esse Romanis, qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt; inde eques citato equo nuntiat regi abire Albanos. Tullus in re trepida duodecim vovit Salios[7] fanaque Pallori ac Pavori. Equitem clara increpans

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[1] There was a plank laid from one house to another in a lane which led from the Forum to the street *Carinae*. This fact was connected by tradition with the murder of Horatia by her brother.

[2] 'In consequence of a proclamation;' that is, 'after declaring war,' equivalent to *ut bellum indictum gerant*.

[3] 'Upon the assurance or agreement that the Albans would come over to their party.'

[4] See i. 11, note on *legio*.

[5] 'When he thought he had ascended far enough (not to be pursued).'

[6] *Fortuna rem dat*, 'Fortune gives a favourable settlement of the matter.' *Qua—ea*, 'on which side—on that side:' *quo—eo* might also have been used here.

[7] Here we have another college of *Salii* founded, different from that mentioned in i. 19. For the sake of distinction, the earlier Salii were called *Salii Talasini*, from the situation of their curia; the latter *Salii Agonales*, or, from the *Collis Quirinalis*, *Collini*.

voce, ut hostes exaudirent, redire in proelium jubet: nihil trepidatione opus esse; suo jussu circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fidenatium nuda terga invadant. Eidem[1] imperat, ut hastas equites erigere jubeat. Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersepsit. Qui viderant, id quod ab rege auditum erat rati, eo acrius pugnant. Terror ad hostes transit: et audiverant clara voce dictum, et magna pars Fidenatium, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent,[2] Latine sciebant. Itaque ne subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus, fusoque Fidenatium cornu in Veientem alieno pavore perculsum ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum: sed ab effusa fuga flumen objectum ab tergo arcebat. Quo postquam fuga inclinavit, alii arma foede jactantes in aquam caeci ruebant, alii dum cunctantur in ripis, inter fugae pugnaeque consilium oppressi. Non alia ante Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

28. Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur;[3] contra Tullus Mettium benigne alloquitur. Quod bene vertat,[4] castra Albanos Romanis castris jungere jubet; sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Ubi illuxit, paratis omnibus ut assolet, vocari ad contionem utrumque exercitum jubet. Praecones ab extremo orsi[5] primos excivere Albanos. Hi novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem Romanum contionantem audirent, proximi constitere. Ex composito armata circumdatur Romana legio: centurionibus datum negotium erat, ut sine mora imperia exequerentur. Tum ita Tullus infit.[6] 'Romani, si unquam ante alias ullo in bello fuit quod[7] primum diis immortalibus gratias ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus quam, quae dimicatio major atque periculosior est, cum proditione ac perfidia sociorum. Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat, injussu

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[1] *Idem* is the usual reading, referring to the king; *eidem* is the horseman who had brought the information.

[2] The city of Fidenae (see i. 14, with note) had been made a Roman colony by Romulus.

[3] *Gratulor tibi victoria, de victoria, victoriam*, or, with the addition of a participle, *victoriam reportatam, quod victoriam reportasti, te victoriam reportasse*, are synonymous expressions. See Zumpt, § 629, note, *ad fin.*

[4] Compare i. 17, note.

[5] 'Beginning from those stationed furthest out.'

[6] See i. 23, note on *infit.*

[7] *Est quod* with the subjunctive, 'there is reason that.'

meo Albani subiere ad montes; nec imperium illud meum, sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit,[1] ut nec vobis ignorantibus deseri vos averteretur a certamine animus, et hostibus circumveniri se ab tergo ratis terror ac fuga injiceretur. Nec ea culpa, quam arguo, omnium Albanorum est: ducem secuti sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego inde agmen declinare voluissem, fecissetis. Mettius ille est ductor itineris hujus, Mettius idem hujus machinator belli, Mettius foederis Romani Albanique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne jam documentum[2] mortalibus dedero.' Centuriones armati Mettium circumsistunt. Rex cetera, ut orsus erat, peragit. 'Quod bonum, faustum felixque sit populo Romano ac mihi vobisque, Albani, populum omnem Albanum Romam traducere in animo est; civitatem dare plebi, primores in Patres legere; unam urbem, unam rem publicam facere. Ut ex uno quondam in duos populos divisa Albana res[3] est, sic nunc in unum redeat.' Ad haec Albana pubes, inermis ab armatis septa, in variis voluntatibus, communi tamen metu cogente, silentium tenet. Tum Tullus 'Metti Fufeti,' inquit, 'si ipse discere posses fidem ac foedera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset. Nunc quoniam tuum insanabile ingenium est, at[4] tu tuo supplicio doce humanum genus ea sancta credere, quae a te violata sunt. Ut igitur paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita jam corpus passim[5] distrahendum dabis.' Exinde duabus admotis quadrigis, in currus earum distentum illigat Mettium; deinde in diversum iter equi concitati, lacerum in utroque curru corpus, qua inhaeserant vinculis membra, portantes. Avertere omnes ab tanta foeditate spectaculi oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit. In aliis gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.

29. Inter haec jam praemissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae

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[1] 'It was a trick of mine, and I merely pretended that I had given the order.'

[2] 'An example.' Compare p. 15, note 2

[3] 'The Alban state' (*respublica*). Compare *Praefatio*, note on *res*.

[4] *At*, superfluous here, but emphatically introducing the apodosis. Compare Zumpt, § 756.

[5] 'Different ways,' or 'in different directions.' This is the original and proper meaning of the adverb *passim*, which is falsely used in modern Latinity for 'here and there,' 'in some places.' It signifies 'everywhere, but in different and opposite quarters.' Compare i. 29, *Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo.*

ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisve ariete muris, aut arce vi capta, clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet: sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae metu obliti, quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente consilio, rogitantesque alii alios, nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illud[1] visuri, pervagarentur. Ut vero jam equitum clamor exire jubentium instabat, jam fragor tectorum, quae diruebantur, ultimis urbis partibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inducta omnia impleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis,[2] cum larem ac penates tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes exirent, jam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias, et conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas. Vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur, mulierum praecipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta praeterirent ac velut captos relinquerent deos. Egressis urbem Albanis, Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit. Templis tamen deum (ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat) temperatum est.

30. Roma interim crescit Albae ruinis. Duplicatur civium numerus. Caelius[3] additur urbi mons; et quo frequentius habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae capit, ibique habitavit. Principes Albanorum in Patres, ut ea quoque pars rei publicae cresceret, legit, Tullios,[4] Servilios, Quintios, Geganios, Curiatios, Cloelios; templumque[5] ordini ab se

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[1] *Ultimum illud*, 'now for the last time.' In the same manner *hoc primum*, 'now for the first time,' *illud* being used in the former case because introduced in a narrative of past events.

[2] This is a contracted construction, of a rare kind, for *raptim elatis iis, quae quisque poterat efferre.* The omission of the infinitive is not unusual; the retention of the nominative *quisque* in a clause in the ablative absolute is quite according to rule: the only thing uncommon is, that the relative *quae* is attracted to the case of the omitted demonstrative pronoun *iis.* We find the same thing, however, in iv. 39, *quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum.* Compare Zumpt, § 774.

[3] This name is also written *Coelius*, but the spelling with the diphthong *ae* is better authenticated.

[4] Dionysius mentions *Julii* instead of *Tullii*, but Livy has already (chap. 16) spoken of a Proculus Julius as a man of some importance in Rome.

[5] 'He built the Curia as a temple;' *templum* meaning generally

aucto curiam fecit, quae Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum aetatem appellata est. Et ut omnium ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo populo adjiceretur, equitum decem turmas ex Albanis legit, legiones et veteres eodem supplemento explevit et novas scripsit.

Hac fiducia virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit, genti ea tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentissimae viris armisque. Utrimque injuriae factae ac res nequicquam erant repetitae. Tullus ad Feroniae fanum[1] mercatu frequenti negotiatores Romanos comprehensos querebatur; Sabini suos prius in lucum[2] confugisse ac Romae retentos. Hae causae belli ferebantur. Sabini haud parum[3] memores et suarum virium partem Romae ab Tatio locatam, et Romanam rem nuper etiam adjectione populi Albani auctam, circumspicere et ipsi externa auxilia. Etruria erat vicina, proximi Etruscorum Veientes. Inde ob residuas bellorum iras maxime sollicitatis ad defectionem animis voluntarios traxere; et apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam merces valuit. Publico auxilio nullo adjuti sunt, valuitque apud Veientes (nam de ceteris minus mirum est) pacta cum Romulo indutiarum fides.[4] Cum bellum utrimque summa ope pararent, vertique in eo res videretur,[5] utri prius arma inferrent, occupat Tullus in agrum Sabinum transire. Pugna atrox ad silvam Malitiosam fuit, ubi et peditum quidem robore,

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any consecrated place, where, with the approval of the gods (*auspicato*), religious or state business might be transacted. The tribunal or stone platform called the *rostra* was a *templum*, and is spoken of as such by Livy in viii. 14 and 35. Compare i. 6, p. 24, note 2. The *Curia Hostilia* was burnt down before the time of Livy, and, being rebuilt by Caesar, was afterwards called *Curia Julia*.

[1] Feronia was the name of an old Italian goddess. The temple mentioned here, near which markets were held, was situated in the territory belonging to the Etruscan town of Capena, at the foot of the mountain Soracte, not far from the Tiber, and twenty-nine miles to the north of Rome. This temple of Feronia must not be confounded with another which was situated on the *via Appia*, near Terracina.

[2] This must mean some sacred grove in Rome or its neighbourhood, to which Sabines had fled, from fear of being maltreated.

[3] 'Not too little,' equivalent to *satis*.

[4] See i. 15.

[5] *Res vertitur in aliqua re*, 'a matter hinges or depends on something.' The figure is taken from a door, which turns on, and is supported by, its hinges. If they give way, the door falls immediately. The expression *cardo rei* is also used in Latin for 'the turning or most important point of any matter.' The adjective 'cardinal,' too, in English, is employed in the sense of 'principal;' thus 'the cardinal points of the compass,' 'the cardinal numbers,' &c.

ceterum[1] equitatu aucto nuper plurimum Romana acies valuit. Ab equitibus repente invectis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum; nec pugna deinde illis constare, nec fuga explicari sine magna caede potuit.

31. Devictis Sabinis, cum in magna gloria magnisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nuntiatum regi Patribusque est in monte Albano lapidibus pluvisse.[2] Quod cum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium, in conspectu, haud aliter quam cum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cecidere coelo lapides. Visi etiam audire[3] vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quae velut diis quoque simul cum patria relictis oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant, aut fortunae, ut fit, obirati cultum reliquerant deum. Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum publice susceptum est,[4] seu voce coelesti ex Albano monte missa (nam id quoque traditur) seu haruspicum monitu. Mansit certe sollemne ut, quandoque[5] idem prodigium nuntiaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur.

Haud ita multo post pestilentia laboratum est. Unde cum pigritia militandi oreretur,[6] nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur a bellicoso rege, salubriora[7] etiam credente militiae quam domi juvenum corpora esse, donec ipse quoque longinquo morbo est implicitus. Tunc adeo fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut qui nihil ante ratus esset minus regium quam sacris dedere animum, repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret,[8] religionibusque etiam populum impleret. Vulgo jam

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[1] *Et quidem—ceterum*, another form of expression for *cum—tum praecipue*, 'on the one hand indeed—but especially.' *Ceterum* for *sed* is frequently used in prose after Cicero's time.

[2] Or *pluisse*, for either form may be used; but in this passage the authenticity of *pluvisse* is attested by the ancient grammarian Priscian. We may say, too, either *lapides* or *lapidibus pluit;* namely, *deus*, *coelum*, or, in English, the indefinite 'it.'

[3] 'They thought also that they heard.' See i. 23, note.

[4] 'In consequence of this prodigy, a nine-days' sacrifice was undertaken.' This is another instance of what we have several times mentioned before, that the annalists are fond of referring the origin of any old custom to some particular person and occasion, both of them probably imaginary.

[5] For *quandocunque;* see i. 24, note.

[6] Or *ariretur*, for both forms are used. See *Gram.*, § 169, note.

[7] 'More healthy,' equivalent to *saniora;* for *saluber*, besides its meaning of 'salutary,' has sometimes also that of 'healthy.'

[8] Equivalent to *ageret vitam. Degere* is used, generally speaking, only by poets.

homines, eum statum rerum, qui sub Numa rege fuerat, requirentes, unam opem aegris corporibus relictam, si pax veniaque ab diis impetrata esset, credebant. Ipsum regem tradunt volventem commentarios Numae, cum ibi quaedam occulta sollemnia sacrificia Jovi Elicio facta invenisset, operatum[1] his sacris se abdidisse; sed non rite initum aut curatum id sacrum esse, nec solum nullam ei oblatam coelestium speciem, sed ira Jovis sollicitati prava religione fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrasse. Tullus magna gloria belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

32. Mortuo Tullo res, ut institutum jam inde ab initio erat, ad Patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverant. Quo comitia habente Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit; Patres fuere auctores. Numae Pompilii regis nepos, filia ortus, Ancus Marcius erat.[2] Qui ut regnare coepit, et avitae gloriae memor, et quia proximum regnum, cetera[3] egregium, ab una parte haud satis prosperum fuerat, aut neglectis religionibus aut prave cultis, longe antiquissimum ratus sacra publica, ut ab Numa instituta erant, facere, omnia ea ex commentariis regis pontificem in album[4] relata proponere in publico jubet. Inde et civibus otii cupidis et finitimis civitatibus facta spes, in avi mores atque instituta regem abiturum. Igitur Latini, cum quibus Tullo regnante ictum foedus erat, sustulerant animos; et cum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent, repetentibus res Romanis superbe responsum reddunt, desidem Romanum regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse regnum rati. Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae et Romuli memor; et praeterquam quod avi regno magis necessariam fuisse pacem credebat cum in novo tum feroci populo, etiam, quod illi contigisset otium, sine injuria[5] id se haud facile habiturum: temptari patientiam et temptatam contemni, temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quam Numae. Ut tamen,

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[1] The supine. *Operari* is the proper word for the performance of religious rites, equivalent to *sacra facere.*

[2] See i. 20. The fact here mentioned is not unimportant; for we see that the four first kings of Rome were chosen alternately from the original Latin population and from the Sabines, who were afterwards added.

[3] Equivalent to *in ceteris.* The accusatives *cetera* and *reliqua* are used abverbially in the sense of *quod ad cetera attinet,* 'in other respects.' This peculiarity in the use of the accusative case is found in a few expressions. See *Gram.*, § 259, 2, note 2.

[4] *Album,* 'a whitened tablet,' on which was written whatever was to be made publicly known, therefore generally 'a published list.'

[5] 'Without damage.' *Injuria* is here used in a passive sense, 'injustice to be borne.'

quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bellicae caerimoniae proderentur, nec gererentur solum sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, jus ab antiqua gente Aequicolis, quod nunc fetiales habent, descripsit,[1] quo res repetuntur. Legatus ubi ad fines eorum venit, unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo (lanae velamen est) 'Audi, Juppiter,' inquit; 'audite fines' (cujuscunque gentis sunt, nominat); 'audiat fas. Ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani: juste pieque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit.' Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Jovem testem facit. 'Si ego injuste impieque illos homines illasque res dedier[2] populo Romano mihique exposco, tum patriae compotem me nunquam siris esse.' Haec, cum fines suprascandit, haec, quicunque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, haec portam ingrediens, haec forum ingressus, paucis verbis carminis concipiendique jurisjurandi mutatis, peragit. Si non deduntur quos exposcit, diebus tribus et triginta (tot enim sollemnes[3] sunt) peractis bellum ita indicit. 'Audi Juppiter et tu Juno, Quirine, diique omnes coelestes, vosque terrestres, vosque inferni audite. Ego vos testor, populum illum' (quicunque est, nominat) 'injustum esse neque jus persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria majores natu[4] consulemus, quo pacto jus nostrum adipiscamur.' Cum his nuntius Romam ad consulendum redit. Confestim rex his ferme verbis Patres consulebat. 'Quarum rerum, litium, causarum condixit[5] pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium patri

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[1] King Ancus Marcius completed the institution of the *jus fetiale*, or *Fetialium*, so that the committal of its rules to writing is attributed to him, though the *jus* itself had been followed by the former king. See i. 26. This *jus* is said to have been derived from the Aequicoli or Aequi, who inhabited the mountainous district towards the source of the Anio. This was an old tradition, perhaps founded merely on the name of *Aequi*. The *jus* referred, so far as we can now see, merely to formalities, because the *Fetiales* had nothing to do with the justice or injustice of the complaints and counter-complaints.

[2] The old lengthened form of the present infinitive passive, quoted from the old formula (*carmen*). So also *siris* for *siveris*.

[3] 'Usual.'

[4] 'The elders' is the expression in the formula, but probably the Roman state is meant.

[5] A legal expression: *hujus rei tibi condico*, 'I make a claim upon thee in regard to this thing;' and from this meaning of the word a particular kind of action in Roman law was called *condictio*. Such an accumulation of terms as *rerum, litium, causarum*, is peculiar to old and legal formulae. In this place we find, instead of the name of the people being left blank as above, a definite tribe mentioned, against whom the king actually declared war according to the *jus fetiale*. As to the *Prisci Latini*, see i. 3, p. 20, note 1.

patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res dari, fieri, solvi oportuit, quas res nec dederunt nec fecerunt nec solverunt, dic,' inquit ei, quem primum sententiam rogabat, 'quid censes?' Tum ille[1] 'puro pioque duello quaerendas censeo, itaque consentio consciscoque.' Inde ordine alii rogabantur; quandoque pars major eorum, qui aderant, in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensum.[2] Fieri solitum ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam ad fines eorum ferret, et non minus tribus puberibus praesentibus diceret 'Quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt, deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis jussit esse, senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indico facioque.' Id ubi dixisset,[3] hastam in fines eorum emittebat. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitae res ac bellum indictum; moremque eum posteri acceperunt.

33. Ancus, demandata cura sacrorum flaminibus sacerdotibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto profectus, Politorium, urbem Latinorum, vi cepit; secutusque morem regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam traduxit. Et cum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romanorum, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Caelium montem Albani implessent, Aventinum[4] novae multitudini datum. Additi eodem haud ita

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[1] 'Thereupon he said.' But of course he could only say what is here put into his mouth, if the demands made seemed to him just, and the war therefore unavoidable.

[2] 'The war was agreed to.' *Bellum erat consensum* is an unusual expression used here by Livy, in all probability, merely because he was quoting from some old document. The ordinary construction would have been *consensum erat de bello*, or *consensum decretum erat de bello*. The expression *senatus consensit bellum*, in Livy, viii. 6, must also be considered as a quotation from an ancient formula, for properly *consentire* is not transitive. In this passage some editions read *bellum erat consensu*, contrary, however, to the authority of the best manuscripts.

[3] The subjunctive of repeated action; for Livy is here describing what was the regular course of proceeding whenever the Romans declared war.

[4] The neuter form *Aventinum* for *Aventinus* (*mons*) occurs twice in this chapter, and in iii. 67. The cities mentioned here, as taken from the Latins, do not exist in historical times. Their territories were incorporated with the *ager Romanus*, and their inhabitants transplanted to Rome. In these new Romans the historian finds

multo post, Tellenis Ficanaque captis, novi cives. Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum, quod vacuum occupaverant Prisci Latini. Eaque causa diruendae urbis ejus fuit Romanis, ne hostium semper receptaculum esset. Postremo omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso, aliquamdiu ibi Marte incerto, varia victoria pugnatum est: nam et urbs tuta munitionibus praesidioque firmata valido erat, et castris in aperto positis aliquotiens exercitus Latinus comminus cum Romanis signa contulerat. Ad ultimum omnibus copiis connisus Ancus acie primum vincit; inde ingenti praeda potens Romam redit, tum quoque multis milibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis, quibus, ut jungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Murciae[1] datae sedes. Janiculum quoque adjectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muro solum, sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, conjungi urbi placuit.[2] Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis,[3] Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, cum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine recte an perperam facti[4] confuso, facinora clandestina fierent, carcer ad terrorem increscentis audaciae media urbe, imminens foro aedificatur. Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque. Silva Maesia Veientibus adempta, usque ad mare imperium prolatum, et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita; salinae circa factae, egregieque rebus bello gestis aedis[5] Jovis Feretrii amplificata.

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the first of that class which had peculiarly, or at least κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the name of *plebs*.

[1] Supply *aedem*, which is frequently omitted with the names of divinities. This *Murcia* is said to have been a *Venus Myrtea*, her name being a corruption of the latter word. The temple was situated in the valley between the Palatine and the Aventine.

[2] The boundary walls of Janiculum, which was situated on the north side of the river, and was of a triangular form, with the bank of the Tiber as its base, were brought down to the water's edge. From the place where the walls came down to the river a wooden bridge was built, connecting the Janiculum with the Aventine, which was immediately opposite. *Sublicius*, from *sublica*, 'a post or stake.' It was a religious law that this bridge was not to be of stone; nay, was to be so entirely of timber, that not even iron nails or fastenings were to be used in its construction.

[3] 'On those places (on the side) which had a plain and easy entrance: *quae, quod ad aditum attinet, planiora erant ceteris.*

[4] That is, *utrum quid recte an perperam factum esset:* the boundary line between right and wrong, instead of being firm and sure, had become unsettled; so that laws, trials, and punishments, were necessary.

[5] Another form for *aedes*. Several dissyllabic substantives in *es*,

34. Anco regnante Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit, cupidine maxime ac spe magni honoris cujus, adipiscendi Tarquiniis (nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat) facultas non fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones domo profugus cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Aruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri, bonorum omnium heres; Aruns prior quam pater moritur, uxore gravida relicta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; qui cum, ignorans nurum ventrem ferre, immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato[1] ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra, omnium heredi bonorum, cum divitiae jam animos facerent, auxit[2] ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata, et quae haud facile iis, in quibus nata erat, humiliora sineret ea, quae innupsisset.[3] Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exule advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissima visa:[4] in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum; arcessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus; et Ancum Sabina matre ortem nobilemque una imagine[5] Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum, et cui

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which do not increase in the genitive, have also sometimes the form *is* in the nominative; such are *caedes*, *clades*, *feles*, *vulpes*. Regarding the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, see i. 10.

[1] 'Without any share of property falling to him.' *Sors* is the appointed share which falls to a person.

[2] Supply *animos* from the preceding clause: his marriage with Tanaquil increased his aspiration or ambition.

[3] 'The family into which she had married.' The neuter of the pronoun is here used indefinitely instead of a definite substantive *quam gentem;* for which might grammatically be used also *in quam gentem* or *cui genti*. *Enubo*, 'I go out by marriage;' *innubo*, 'I enter by marriage.' The manuscripts read erroneously *cum* for *quae*, the abbreviations of these words being easily and frequently confounded.

[4] 'Rome seemed to her best suited for her purpose;' properly, 'most eligible;' for as the adverbs *potius* and *potissime* are used of choice, so also the superlative in the adjective form *potissimus, a, um*, expresses that which. in making a choice, seems best.

[5] For *unius Numae regia dignitate illustrem*. The author here expresses himself in language derived from a Roman custom, which probably did not arise till a later period. The custom we speak of was that of families preserving busts of such of their members as obtained high offices in the state.

Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset. Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant[1] Romam. Ad Janiculum forte ventum erat. Ibi ei carpento[2] sedenti cum uxore aquila, suspensis demissa leniter alis, pileum aufert; superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans, rursus, velut ministerio divinitus missa,[3] capiti apte reponit; inde sublimis abiit. Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, coelestium prodigiorum mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum jubet: eam alitem ea regione coeli et ejus[4] dei nuntiam venisse; circa summum culmen hominis auspicium fecisse;[5] levasse humano superpositum capiti decus, ut divinitus eidem redderet. Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes urbem ingressi sunt, domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tarquinium Priscum[6] edidere nomen. Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiaeque faciebant; et ipse fortunam benigno alloquio, comitate invitandi, beneficiisque, quos poterat, sibi conciliando, adjuvabat, donec in regiam quoque de eo fama perlata est. Notitiamque eam brevi apud regem liberaliter dextreque obeundo officia in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat jura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique[7] interesset, et per omnia expertus postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

35. Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Jam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinius instare, ut quam primum comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis, sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum et orationem

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[1] Such is the reading of the manuscripts, though this compound is an *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*. Some editions read *commigrant*.

[2] The mere ablative for *in carpento*, which is the ordinary prose construction.

[3] 'As if sent by the gods (or 'by divine arrangement') expressly for this service.' The adverbs in *itus* take often quite the place of *ab* with the substantive; here, for instance, *divinitus* is equivalent to *a diis*.

[4] The triple repetition of the pronoun gives a decided impressiveness to the expression. In the same manner in i. 28, *Mettius* is thrice repeated. Compare i. 26, note on *eum*.

[5] The *summum culmen hominis* is the head, and from this Tanaquil concludes that her husband is to attain to high dignity in the Roman state.

[6] See i. 1, note on *nomen*.

[7] In this connection the genitive *belli* is more common, and in other editions this is the reading here. The best manuscripts, however, read *bello* (equivalent to *in bello*), which is also found in ix. 26, *res domi belloque gestae*.

dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam: cum[1] se non rem novam petere, quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed tertius Romae peregrinus regnum affectet: et Tatium non ex peregrino solum sed etiam ex hoste regem factum; et Numam ignarum urbis, non petentem in regnum ultro accitum. Se, ex quo sui potens fuerit,[2] Romam cum conjuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse; majorem partem aetatis ejus, qua civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romae se quam in vetere patria vixisse. Domi militiaeque sub haud poenitendo magistro,[3] ipso Anco rege, Romana se jura, Romanos ritus didicisse. Obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso certasse. Haec eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare jussit.[4] Ergo virum cetera egregium secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est; nec minus regni sui firmandi quam augendae rei publicae memor, centum in Patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium[5] sunt appellati, factio haud dubia regis, cujus beneficio in curiam venerant. Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Apiolas[6] vi cepit; praedaque inde majore,

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[1] The author intended to say, *cum se non rem novam petere—tum se jampridem Romam migrasse, et majorem partem aetatis Romae vixisse*, 'that, on the one hand, he was aiming at no new thing; and, on the other, that he was a Roman in everything but birth.' Livy, however, from the length of the intervening sentence, forgets that he has begun with *cum;* and therefore, instead of going on with *tum*, he adopts a different mode of connection. The accusatives with the infinitive contain the substance of the speech delivered by Tarquinius, and are governed by the idea of *dixit*, which is contained in *orationem*.

[2] 'From the time when he became his own master.'

[3] Under a teacher, *cujus neminem poenitere debeat*, whom nobody can think unfit. *Poenitet me*, as already (p. 27. note 1) remarked, is frequently said of the feeling of discontent. Regarding the existing participles of impersonal verbs, see *Gram.* § 188.

[4] Thus, according to the tradition, Tarquinius the immigrant raised himself by his own merits to be king of Rome. It seems probable, however, judging from many scattered traces, that he came to Rome at the head of a great band of Etruscans, and thus obtained power in the city; and that with him there began a period in the regal government at Rome of greater external prosperity and splendour, but of internal discomfort and commotion.

[5] They and their descendants were called *Patres minorum gentium;* but the greater and less *gentes* could in after-times not be distinguished. It appears, indeed, that they gradually coalesced into one body.

[6] This Latin town, like those said to have been taken by Ancus Marcius, did not exist in historical times; and Livy himself, by the

quam quanta belli fama fuerat, revecta, ludos opulentius instructiusque quam priores reges fecit. Tunc primum Circo, qui nunc Maximus dicitur, designatus locus est. Loca divisa Patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula sibi quisque facerent; fori[1] appellati. Spectavere furcis[2] duodenos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque, ex Etruria maxime acciti. Sollemnes deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique varie appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis aedificanda divisa sunt loca, porticus tabernaeque factae.

36. Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, cum Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeoque ea subita res fuit, ut prius Anienem transirent hostes, quam obviam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus possent. Itaque trepidatum Romae est. Et primo dubia victoria magna utrimque caede pugnatum est. Reductis deinde in castra hostium copiis, datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum de integro bellum. Tarquinius equitem maxime suis deesse viribus ratus, ad Ramnes, Titienses, Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit, suoque insignes relinquere nomine. Id quia inaugurato[3] Romulus fecerat, negare Attus Navius, inclitus ea tempestate augur, neque[4] mutari neque novum constitui, nisi aves addixissent, posse. Ex eo ira regi mota, eludensque artem, ut ferunt, 'Agedum' inquit, 'divine tu, inaugura, fierine possit, quod nunc ego mente concipio.' Cum ille in augurio rem expertus pro-

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following clause, in which he insinuates that the fame of the war was not very great, intimates that the place soon disappeared.

[1] This is the proper expression for the passages leading through the various concentric rows of standing or sitting places from which the games were seen (*spectacula*).

[2] *Furcae;* that is, beams supported on each side by others, and therefore, from the form, called 'forks,' raised the places twelve feet from the ground; such a height being necessary for the safety of the spectators from the horses and chariots, and in later times also from wild beasts and gladiators.

[3] Equivalent to *augurato* (see p. 41, note 3), as in the next sentence *inaugura* for the simple *augura*. The *in* here is not negative, but expressive of the influence which the augury has upon a place or institution.

[4] We may remark that, when a negative main verb (here *negare*) is followed by subdivisions, these are also negatively expressed *nequeneque*); so that this is an exception from the rule, 'two negatives are equal to an affirmative.' The same is the case with *nequidem* after a negative leading proposition. Compare Zumpt, § 754, note. In modern languages the negative principal verb must be translated as if it were positive; 'the augur said (declared) that neither—nor.'

fecto futuram dixisset, 'Atqui hoc animo agitavi' inquit, 'te novacula cotem discissurum. Cape haec,[1] et perage quod aves tuae fieri posse portendunt.' Tum illum haud cunctanter discidisse cotem ferunt. Statua Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est, in comitio, in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit; cotem quoque eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant, ut esset ad posteros miraculi ejus monumentum.[2] Auguriis certe sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit, ut nihil belli domique postea nisi auspicato gereretur; concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum,[3] ubi aves non admisissent, dirimerentur. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit: numero alterum tantum adjecit, ut mille et ducenti[4] equites in tribus centuriis essent. Posteriores modo sub iisdem nominibus, qui additi erant, appellati sunt; quas nunc, quia geminatae sunt, sex vocant centurias.

37. Hac parte copiarum aucta iterum cum Sabinis confligitur. Sed praeterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripa jacentem, ardentem in flumen conjicerent; ventoque juvante accensa ligna, et pleraque in ratibus impacta sublicis cum haererent,[5] pontem incendunt. Ea quoque res in pugna terrorem attulit Sabinis. Et fusis eadem fugam impediit, multique mortales, cum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periere; quorum fluitantia arma

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[1] Namely, a razor and a whetstone which Tarquinius offered the augur.

[2] A story invented to account for an ancient statue which was long carefully preserved, but did not exist in the time of Livy, as we learn from the perfect *fuit*. The old curia itself, beside which the statue had stood, was not then in existence. The story is connected by Livy with the respect due to the observance of the auspices —an institution which came originally from Etruria.

[3] *Exercitus vocati* are, according to an ancient expression, the *comitia centuriata*, the institution of which is attributed to the following king—Servius Tullius. The people were summoned to these *comitia* according to the divisions of the army. *Summa rerum*, equivalent to *summae res*, 'the most important affairs,' the neuter plural of the adjective being joined with the genitive of the substantive.

[4] Some of the manuscripts read *octingenti*, others ccc; all, however, *et*, not, as in some editions, *ac*. The true number is 1200, for Tullus Hostilius (see i. 30) had instituted ten *turmae* of knights from among the Albans; and thus—a *turma* consisting of thirty men—the original number of Roman *equites*, 300, was doubled.

[5] 'As most of the burning logs on rafts were driven upon the beams (of the bridge), and stuck fast.' *Pleraque in ratibus* are to be taken together, most of the logs being put upon floats, in order that they might not pass between the beams of the bridge, but might be entangled.

ad urbem cognita in Tiberi prius pene, quam nuntiari posset, insignem victoriam fecere.[1] Eo proelio praecipua equitum gloria fuit. Utrimque ab cornibus positos, cum jam pelleretur media peditum suorum acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modo Sabinas legiones ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant, et pauci tenuere; maxima pars, ut ante dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius instandum perterritis ratus, praeda captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium (id votum Vulcano erat) ingenti cumulo accensis, pergit porro in agrum Sabinum exercitum inducere; et quamquam male gesta res erat, nec gesturos[2] melius sperare poterant, tamen quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, iere obviam Sabini tumultuario milite:[3] iterumque ibi fusi, perditis jam prope rebus, pacem petiere.

38. Collatia,[4] et quicquid citra Collatiam agri erat, Sabinis ademptum; Egerius (fratris hic filius erat regis) Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita accipio, eamque deditionis formulam esse. Rex interrogavit 'Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Collatino, ut vos populumque Collatinum dederetis?'—'Sumus.'—'Estne populus Collatinus in sua potestate?'[5]—'Est.'—'Deditisne vos populumque Collatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia, in meam populique Romani dicionem?'—'Dedimus.'—'At ego recipio.'

Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam redit. Inde Priscis Latinis[6] bellum fecit. Ubi nusquam ad universae rei dimicationem ventum est, ad singula oppida circumferendo arma omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum,[7] haec de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta.

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[1] 'Made the victory conspicuous,' or 'easily known;' that is, 'clearly showed it.'

[2] Supply *se*, an omission with the infinitive which in Livy is not unfrequent, but is rare in Cicero.

[3] 'With soldiers hastily drawn together,' in opposition to an army regularly levied and organised.

[4] A town not now in existence, below Tibur, on the Anio.

[5] That is, 'Is the town of Collatia independent, so that it can dispose of itself?'

[6] See p. 20. note 1; and regarding the expression *nomen Latinum*, which occurs in the next sentence, see p. 29, note 5.

[7] All these places were situated beyond the Anio, between Rome and the Sabine territory; *defecerant*, therefore, is applied to Sabines who had deserted to the Latin league. Nomentum is the most important of these towns, and is mentioned by Livy at a later period

Majore inde animo pacis opera inchoata, quam quanta mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset, quam militiae fuisset. Nam et muro lapideo, cujus exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem, qua nondum munierat, cingere parat; et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interjectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas,[1] cloacis e fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccat; et aream ad aedem in Capitolio Jovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, jam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci, occupat fundamentis.[2]

39. Eo tempore in regia prodigium visu eventuque mirabile fuit. Puero dormienti, cui Ser. Tullio nomen fuit, caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu. Plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos reges;[3] et cum quidam familiarium aquam ad restinguendum ferret, ab regina retentum; sedatoque eam[4] tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum, donec sua sponte experrectus esset. Mox cum somno et flammam abisse. Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil 'Viden[5] tu puerum hunc,' inquit, 'quem tam humili cultu educamus? Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum, praesidiumque regiae afflictae. Proinde materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris omni indulgentia nostra nutriamus.' Inde puerum liberum[6] loco coeptum haberi, erudirique artibus, quibus ingenia ad magnae fortunae cultum[7] excitantur. Evenit facile quod diis cordi esset: juvenis evasit vere indolis regiae. Nec cum

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in the history as a Latin town still independent. Its modern name is Mentana, abbreviated from (*Civitas*) *Nomentana*.

[1] The subject to *evehebant* must be *loca*, but this construction gives a somewhat clumsy sense. The sentence is considerably improved, however, if we translate *urbis loca* by 'streets,' or 'lanes,' which is, in fact, the meaning; 'the low streets about the Forum and other valleys between the hills could not easily carry away the water from the flat parts of the city.'

[2] 'He takes (before-hand) a flat open place for the temple, by laying a foundation;' that is, 'by laying foundation walls, he prepares a flat place.' &c. It appears that from the nature of the hill a foundation had to be laid very deep, in order to obtain a proper site for building.

[3] 'The royal pair,' *regem et reginam*, the masculine gender predominating. In the same manner Virgil (*Aen.* ii. 457) uses *soceri* for *socer cum socru*. See *Gram.* § 240, 6.

[4] *Eam* is a conjecture of Gronovius. The manuscripts read *jam*. Even if we retain the *jam*, we must supply *eam*.

[5] For *videsne*, as *ain* for *aisne*. See *Gram.* § 180, note, and Zumpt, § 24, 1, note.

[6] 'As a child;' *liberum*, as frequently, for *liberorum*.

[7] 'To such a manner of life (outward demeanour) as is proper for

quaereretur gener Tarquinio, quisquam Romanae juventutis ulla arte conferri potuit; filiamque ei suam rex despondit. Hic quacunque de causa tantus illi honos habitus credere prohibet, serva natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum magis sententiae sum, qui Corniculo capto Ser. Tullii, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gravidam viro occiso uxorem, cum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam[1] nobilitatem ab regina Romana prohibitam ferunt servitio[2] partum Romae edidisse, Prisci Tarquinii domo.[3] Inde tanto beneficio et inter mulieres familiaritatem auctam, et puerum, ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam matris, quod capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut serva natus crederetur fecisse.[4]

40. Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare coeperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo sed apud Patres plebemque longe maximo honore Ser. Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant, se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam non modo[5] vicinae sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis,

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high rank.' *Cultus* is the whole outward conduct or mode of life, particularly with regard to dress and domestic arrangements. *Fortunae* is here a subjective, not an objective genitive, the sense being, 'the conduct which high rank requires,' not 'the cultivation or eager seeking after high rank.'

1 'Distinguished.' See i. 21, p. 45, note 4.

2 'Kept free from slavery,' for *prohibere* is used with the accusative of the person as well as that of the thing; in the passive, therefore, we can say either *prohibeor servitute*, which is the construction here, or *servitus prohibetur a me*.

3 Regularly *in domo*.

4 The popular belief that Servius Tullius had been raised by fortune from the position of a slave to that of a king, kept its ground, notwithstanding all the improvements and embellishments which were attempted on the tradition. It appears, however, more probable, according to information which we have from Etruscan sources, that Servius emigrated to Rome from Etruria at the head of a large band of fugitives. We derive this information—which, as we have mentioned, came originally, no doubt, from an Etruscan source—from a speech of the Emperor Claudius, still preserved on a tablet at Lyons. This speech is a full copy of that of which Tacitus (*Annal.* xi. 24) has a digest, and is therefore given in the Commentary to all the larger modern editions of that author.

5 The use of *non modo* for *non modo non* is quite common in Latin. For *vicinae* other editions, following bad manuscripts, read *civicae*, which is quite inadmissible, because if Tarquin had been born a citizen, the sons of Ancus would have had no reason to complain. We must also remark that Livy never uses the adjective *civicus* for *civilis*.

tum[1] impensius iis indignitas crescere, si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum[2] quam Romulus, deo prognatus, deus ipse tenuerit regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id servus serva natus possideat. Cum commune Romani nominis, tum praecipue id domus suae dedecus fore, si, Anci regis virili stirpe salva, non modo advenis sed servis etiam regnum Romae pateret. Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et injuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat; et quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus: tum Servio occiso quemcunque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni heredem facturus videbatur. Ob haec ipsi regi insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis,[3] in vestibulo regiae, quam potuere tumultuosissime, specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt; inde cum ambo regem appellarent[4] clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari, et certatim alter alteri obstrepere; coerciti ab lictore et jussi invicem dicere tandem obloqui desistunt, unus rem ex composito orditur. Cum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput dejecit; relictoque in vulnere telo ambo se foras ejiciunt.

41. Tarquinium moribundum cum qui circa erant excepissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi, mirantium[5] quid rei esset. Tana-

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[1] The repetition of the adverb *tum* is justified by the intervention of the long protasis.

[2] That is, '*only* about a hundred years after,' the expression *post annum* being equivalent to *anno post*. It was now, in reality, 138 years since the death of Romulus; but in the angry thoughts of the brothers, as depicted by Livy, the interval becomes smaller, and the *fere* excludes a more accurate statement.

[3] The simple ablative has here the sense of *cum agrestibus ferramentis*. The shepherds, having with them their rustic iron implements, would be overlooked. We make this remark in order that the *agrestibus ferramentis* may not be connected with *delecti ad facinus* or *convertunt*, but be taken as an ablative absolute.

[4] *Appellare* in the particular sense of 'to appeal to any one,' *provocare ad aliquem*.

[5] The construction of the plural *mirantium* with the singular *populi* can easily be explained by the collective meaning of the substantive. It only deserves to be remarked here generally, that Livy is, of all Latin writers, most addicted to this construction of collective substantives in the singular with verbs in the plural. Compare *Gram.* § 244, 1, and Zumpt, § 366.

quil inter tumultum claudi regiam jubet, arbitros ejecit: simul quae curando vulneri opus sunt, tamquam spes subesset, sedulo comparat; simul, si destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur. Servio propere accito cum pene exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat, ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum inimicis ludibrio esse sinat. 'Tuum est,' inquit, 'Servi, si vir es, regnum; non eorum, qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te, deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. Nunc te illa coelestis excitet flamma; nunc expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus: qui sis,[1] non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea consilia[2] sequere.' Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in novam viam versas (habitabat enim rex ad Jovis Statoris[3]) populum Tanaquil alloquitur. Jubet bono animo esse: sopitum fuisse regem subitu ictu; ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse; jam ad se redisse; inspectum vulnus absterso cruore; omnia salubria esse; confidere prope diem ipsum eos visuros; interim Ser. Tullio jubere populum dicto audientem esse: eum jura redditurum obiturumque alia regis munia esse. Servius cum trabea[4] et lictoribus prodit; ac sede regia sedens alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot dies, cum jam expirasset Tarquinius, celata morte, per speciem alienae fungendae vicis[5] suas opes firmavit. Tum demum palam factum,[6] et comploratione in regia orta, Servius praesidio firmo munitus, primus injussu populi, voluntate Patrum regnavit. Anci liberi, jam tum comprehensis sceleris ministris, ut vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servii nuntiatum est, Suessam Pometiam[7] exulatum ierant.

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[1] 'Who you are;' that is, 'what sort of a man you are, how aspiring and daring.' As to *qui* and *quis*, see *Gram.* § 118.

[2] This word, which might easily be supplied from the preceding clause, is found in the best manuscripts.

[3] As to the omission of *aedem*, see i. 33, p. 63, note 1.

[4] The proper dress of the Roman kings, a loose robe with purple stripes (*trabes*, beams).

[5] See i. 20, p. 44, note 2. The construction shows us that *fungor* was originally construed with the accusative. See *Gram.* § 300, note.

[6] Others read *palam facto*, which ablative absolute can very well be explained: 'after it had become known,' supply 'that the king was dead,' *regem mortuum esse*. But this construction is very rare. See Zumpt, § 648.

[7] A town which gave to the district around it the name of *Ager Pometinus* or *Pomptinus* (now the Pontine Marshes). *Exulatum*, the supine, 'to live out of their native country.'

42. Nec jam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam privatis munire opes.[1] Et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquinii liberum esset, duas filias juvenibus regiis, Lucio atque Arunti Tarquiniis, jungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni etiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peropportune ad praesentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus (jam enim indutiae exierant) aliisque Etruscis sumptum.[2] In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit Tullii; fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu, haud dubius rex, seu Patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur,[3] Romam rediit. Aggrediturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, ut, quemadmodum Numa divini auctor juris fuisset, ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaeque aliquid interlucet,[4] posteri fama ferrent. Censum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio; ex quo belli pacisque munia non viritim, ut ante, sed pro habitu pecuniarum fierent.[5] Tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem ex censu descripsit,[6] vel paci decorum vel bello.

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[1] *Consilia publica* are plans or designs regarding the state, *privata*, regarding his own domestic relations. Servius strengthened his power by the latter *quite as much* as the former; for by *non magis quam* the main stress is thrown upon the second member of the sentence. whereas with *non minus quam* the reverse is the case.

[2] 'Very opportunely (that is, at a very opportune time) a war is undertaken,' because a foreign war usually puts a stop to intestine commotions. *Sumimus quod praebetur, affertur ab aliis*, 'we take up the gage of battle.'

[3] 'Being now indubitably king, whether he put the sentiments of the *patres* or the *plebs* to the proof.' The subjunctive *periclitaretur* means that if he had tried either the one party or the other, he would have found their sentiments in his favour, but that, as no proof was necessary, he had tried neither.

[4] 'Founder of the orders by which a certain interval is established between the grades of rank and fortune.' The *dignitas* refers to the distinction made between the knights and those appointed to serve on foot, the *fortuna* to the classes instituted by Servius, which were ranged according to fortune. *Aliquid interlucet*, 'there is some distinction or difference,' as if there were vacant spaces between the *gradus dignitatis fortunaeque*, through which the sun shone.

[5] *Census*, 'an estimate of a fortune,' otherwise a fortune itself. *Munia*, 'duties;' that is, what each person had to do or to pay. This entire alteration of the system according to which these duties were performed, and the privileges dependent upon them were bestowed, is regarded by Livy as a very salutary measure, considering the greatness to which the state was afterwards to attain. He believes the aristocracy of wealth, which was one main element in the classes of Servius, to be a strong bulwark against democratic licentiousness.

[6] 'He marked out the order which still exists,' or 'is still preserved.'

43. Ex iis, qui centum milium aeris aut majorem censum haberent, octoginta confecit centurias,[1] quadragenas seniorum ac juniorum: prima classis omnes appellati. Seniores ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, juvenes ut foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata galea, clipeum,[2] ocreae, lorica; omnia ex aere: haec ut tegumenta corporis essent, tela in hostem hastaque et gladius. Additae huic classi duae fabrum centuriae, quae sine armis stipendia facerent: datum munus, ut machinas in bello ferrent.[3] Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta milium censum instituta; et ex his, senioribus junioribusque, viginti conscriptae centuriae; arma imperata scutum pro clipeo, et praeter loricam omnia eadem.[4] Tertiae classis in[5] quinquaginta milium censum esse voluit. Totidem centuriae et hae, eodemque discrimine aetatium factae; nec de armis quicquam mutatum, ocreae tantum ademptae. In quarta classe census quinque et viginti milium, totidem centuriae factae: arma mutata, nihil praeter hastam et verutum datum. Quinta classis aucta, centuriae triginta factae; fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant. In his accensi,[6] corni-

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[1] *Centuria* is derived from *centum*, but frequently loses the sense of the definite number, and means then simply 'division.' This is the case here, for the 'centuries' in the various classes had by no means the same number of men; for instance, it is said in the course of the chapter that the whole multitude who were possessed of less than the fifth class, were formed into one century. Livy does not tell us at what age men were considered *seniores* by Roman law, but we know from other authors that the seniors in the classes of Servius were men between forty-five and sixty years of age, and that those about sixty were not ranked in the centuries at all. The whole arrangement described in this chapter refers to the army muster, but the voting in the *comitia centuriata* was also regulated by it.

[2] In this sense of a shield used as armour, usually *clipeus*, masculine, and only in the sense of an emblazoned ornamental shield *clipeum*, neuter. Sometimes, however, as here, this distinction is disregarded.

[3] Lipsius wished *facerent*, and certainly not without reason; however, since *ferrent* is in the manuscripts, we must understand the repair of old and making of new engines as implied in the careful transport. We must remark that these *additae centuriae* were formed without any regard to the census of each.

[4] *Scutum* is the oblong shield covering the whole body; for which reason this class had no coat of mail.

[5] That is, 'down to a census of.'

[6] *Accensi* is used substantively, as appears from Cicero, *de republica*, ii. 22, where they are called *accensi velati*. probably officers for the performance of some religious duties. *In his* must be understood as equivalent to *cum his*; that is, belonging to the fifth class. These three centuries, and the century of *capite censi*, make the whole

cines tubicinesque, in tres centurias distributi. Undecim milibus haec classis censebatur. Hoc minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit: inde una centuria facta est, immunis militia. Ita pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque, equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex item alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo institutis, sub iisdem, quibus inauguratae erant, nominibus fecit. Ad equos emendos dena milia aeris ex publico data; et quibus equos alerent, viduae attributae, quae bina milia aeris in annos singulos penderent.[1] Haec omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera: deinde est honos additus. Non enim, ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges, viritim suffragium eadem vi eodemque jure promiscue omnibus datum est; sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, et vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset.[2] Equites enim vocabantur primi, octoginta inde primae classis centuriae primum peditum vocabantur:[3] ibi si variaret, quod raro incidebat, ut[4] secundae classis vocarentur; nec fere unquam infra ita descenderent ut ad infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari opertet hunc ordinem, qui nunc est, post expletas quinque et triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero centuriis

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number of centuries, according to Livy, 194, whereas Dionysius reckons 193, having no *accensi*.

[1] The unmarried ladies had to furnish the knights with so much money that each might receive 2000 ases annually to keep his horse. Grammatically, we must connect *viduae attributae, quibus (viduis) equos alerent*, the *quibus*, however, being not exactly 'by means of whom,' but 'by means of whose fortune.' The *viduae*, who are here both widows and unmarried heiresses, did not pay each the same sum, but made up among them as much as gave 2000 ases to each knight; so that the distributive *bina* refers not to the contributors, but to the recipients. *Aeris* is equivalent to *assium*, and we must here understand the so-called heavy ases, *grave aes*, ten of which made a denarius; so that the sum given for buying the horse amounted to forty gold pieces, and for its yearly maintenance to eight, one gold piece (*nummus aureus*) being equal to twenty-five denarii of silver money.

[2] This was the case, because in the *comitia centuriata* each century, whatever the number of men who composed it, had but one *suffragium*, 'vote;' so that a century of the rich, though very much smaller than one of the poor, had an equal vote.

[3] The last three words have been omitted in the modern editions, contrary to the authority of the manuscripts. They are, however, not faulty, but merely express more definitely that the centuries of the first class were called first of the infantry.

[4] *Ut* does not depend on any single word, but on the general sense: 'it was so arranged that.' *Descenderent*, a general expression, 'they (Fr. *on*, Germ. *man*) should descend.' The passive *descenderetur*, might have been used impersonally.

juniorum seniorumque, ad institutam ab Ser. Tullio summam non convenire.[1] Quadrifariam enim urbe divisa regionibus collibusque, qui habitabantur,[2] partes eas tribus appellavit, ut ego arbitror, ab tributo: nam ejus quoque aequaliter ex censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est. Neque eae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinuere.[3]

44. Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incen-

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[1] 'Does not accord with the whole number as settled by Servius Tullius.' *Summa* refers not to the sum-total of the centuries, 193 (for, as we learn from Cicero, *de republica*, ii. 22, it had remained unaltered), but to the number of centuries in each class, particularly the first. Cicero, in the passage just cited, informs us that in his time the number of centuries in the first class was not, as originally, eighty, but seventy. This change, which, however, did not materially alter the principle of the whole system, had taken place 'in consequence of the number of thirty-five tribes being completed, and the doubling of that number (*earum—tribuum*) by the centuries of the juniors and seniors.' There were, therefore, seventy centuries, seniors and juniors; not, however, as we have already said, of the whole people, but merely of the first class. Thus the division of the people into centuries was connected with that into tribes, and as Livy mentions that the number of tribes had gradually been increased to thirty-five, at which it remained (*expletus*), he is naturally led to speak of them as they were under Servius.

[2] 'According to the inhabited quarters and hills.' *Regio* is a part of the city with defined boundaries. In these the *colles* are included, but they are mentioned separately, because three of the four city tribes were named after hills—namely, the *Palatina*, *Esquilina*, *Collina:* the remaining tribe was called *Suburrana*, and comprised the *regio* in the valley between the hills which we have mentioned. The passage is usually written and pointed thus, *quae habitabantur partes*, *tribus eas appellavit*, but our reading (*qui*, belonging to *collibus* as nearest, but also to *regionibus*) is that of the best manuscripts.

[3] Livy speaks only of the division of the city into four regions or tribes, and does not mention the country tribes, though we can have no doubt that they were founded at the same time. He passes them over, because he found conflicting statements regarding them in the annalists, and could not, or would not, decide which was to be depended upon. In ii. 16, he mentions the addition of a new (country) tribe, and in vi. 5, he relates that four new country tribes were formed, and remarks that this completes the number of twenty-five tribes. It appears, therefore, that at the time of Servius Tullius, there were at least sixteen *tribus rusticae*, besides the four *urbanae;* perhaps more, however, supposing that the Roman state had lost a portion of territory between that time and the period when the number of tribes amounted to twenty-five. Since Livy, as we have said, omits the country tribes altogether, and mentions merely those of the city, he adds, 'these (city) tribes had no connection with the division of the whole people into centuries.'

sis latae cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis, in campo Martio prima luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus[2] lustravit: idque conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is censendo[3] finis factus est. Milia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur: adjicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor,[4] eorum qui arma ferre possent, eum numerum fuisse. Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilias;[5] ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem: ita pomoerium profert. Pomoerium, verbi vim solam intuentes, postmoerium interpretantur esse. Est autem magis circa murum locus, quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, qua murum ducturi erant, certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc vulgo etiam conjungunt,[6] et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset, quam quod murus post id, pomoerium Romani appellarunt. Et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

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[1] He had passed a law, which was in force also at a later period, that every one who did not give in a census of his fortune (*incensus* = *non census*) should be imprisoned, and afterwards put to death; and thereby he had brought the business to a speedy termination.

[2] As the composition of the word shows, 'the sacrifice of a sow, a sheep, and a bull.'

[3] *Censendo* is the dative of the gerund, which takes the place of a declined infinitive. The word *condere* in the expression *condere lustrum* is explained by Livy himself as equivalent to *finire*, 'to complete.'

[4] He was certainly the most ancient Roman historian, for he lived during and for a short time after the second Punic war. *Scriptor*, however, must here be taken in the limited sense of a prose writer or historian, for otherwise Fabius would not be *antiquissimus*, Livius Andronicus having published his tragedies twenty years before him.

[5] Gronovius wished the ablative *Esquiliis*. Whichever reading we adopt, we find that the *collis Esquilinus* is from this time a part of the city, which comprehended, besides it and the two others mentioned in the text, the *Caelius*, the *Aventinus*, and the two inner hills, *Palatinus*, and *Capitolinus*.

[6] Now, says Livy, the houses are not only brought up to the city wall without any space being left, but are even built against the wall (*conjunguntur*) so that it forms the back wall of the house. Dionysius, too, remarks of this wall of Servius, that in later times it was entirely built in, so as to be traced with difficulty.

45. Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes acquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Jam tum erat inclitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum: id communiter a civitatibus Asiae[1] factum fama ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare[2] mire Servius inter proceres Latinorum, cum quibus publice privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria junxerat: saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romae[3] fanum Dianae populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo totiens armis certatum fuerat. Id quamquam omissum jam ex omnium cura Latinorum ob rem totiens infeliciter tentatam armis videbatur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio imperii recuperandi.[4] Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiae dicitur miranda magnitudine ac specie: fixa per multas aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat,[5] res prodigii loco est; et cecinere vates, cujus civitatis eam cives Dianae immolassent, ibi fore imperium; idque carmen pervenerat ad

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[1] By *Asia* we must understand, as usual, Asia Minor, and still more specially the coast which was colonised by Greeks. Ephesus and its temple of Diana formed properly the central point of the Ionian colonies only; these, however, had in those times outstripped the other colonies, Dorian and Aeolian, in the race for distinction and celebrity. The original temple of Diana at Ephesus, which was one of the seven wonders of the world, was not in existence in the time of Livy, for it had been burnt down by the notorious Herostratus on the night when Alexander the Great was born (in September, 356 B. C.).

[2] The editions read *cum laudaret*, but the historical infinitive, which the manuscripts give, can easily be tolerated.

[3] On the Aventine. Diana, as goddess of the moon and of the chase, was a leading divinity in Latium, and had a holy grove (*nemus*) in the district of Aricia, from which has arisen in modern times the little village of Nemi. Many Latins had been forced by the last Roman kings to settle at Rome, and had increased, or, according to a more correct view, founded the *plebs*. This circumstance probably, more than a recognition of Roman supremacy, was the cause of a temple being erected to Diana in Rome.

[4] Livy seems to think that the Sabines stood in the same relation to Rome as the Latins, though at a later period we find them in arms against Rome, and in fact they were not incorporated with the Roman state till 290 B. C., nearly three hundred years after this. In the story, however, told in this chapter by Livy, we see only the explanation of a sacerdotal legend, with the popular and natural, but not very creditable, joy at the sly patriotism of the Roman priest.

[5] Livy speaks here as if he were 'all of the olden time,' and had all the credulity of the early ages.

antistitem fani Dianae. Sabinusque, ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianae, et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Romanus, cum eum magnitudo victimae celebrata fama movisset, memor responsi[1] Sabinum ita alloquitur. 'Quidnam tu, hospes, paras?' inquit, 'inceste[2] sacrificium Dianae facere? Quin[3] tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine? infima valle praefluit Tiberis.' Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet rite facta, extemplo[4] descendit ad Tiberim. Interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem: id mire gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

46. Servius quamquam jam usu haud dubium regnum possederat,[5] tamen quia interdum jactari voces a juvene Tarquinio audiebat se injussu populi regnare, conciliata prius voluntate plebis, agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso, ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent juberentne se regnare; tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam alius ante, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem affectandi regni minuit: immo eo impensius, quia de agro plebis adversa Patrum voluntate senserat agi, criminandi Servii apud Patres crescendique in curia[6] sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse juvenis ardentis animi, et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimulante. Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici[7] exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas, ultimumque regnum esset, quod scelere partum foret. Hic L. Tarquinius (Prisci Tarquinii regis filius neposne fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim) fratrem habuerat Aruntem Tarquinium, mitis ingenii juvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duae

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[1] *Responsum* is here 'prophecy,' since nothing has been said of any oracle having been consulted.

[2] 'Impurely,' for *caste* in this sense refers particularly to previous purification.

[3] In form a question, but, in consequence of the remark which follows, in sense rather a command: 'Why dost thou not do this?' for 'Do it.' See Zumpt, § 542.

[4] We, following the most recent critical editor, Mr. Alschefski, make *extemplo* one word, because thereby the zeal of the Sabine priest is brought directly before us, whereas *ex templo* merely intimates what is self-evident.

[5] 'Had taken possession of,' conformably to the original signification of this word, though *possidebat* too might be used in the sense of 'he possessed, was in possession of.' *Velle jubere* (towards the end of the sentence) are here used as one word, and therefore the enclitic *ne* is placed at the end of the expression. Compare i. 17. p. 40, note 4.

[6] That is, in the senate, with the senators.

[7] 'Such as usually occurs only in tragedies.'

Tulliae regis filiae nupserant, et ipsae[1] longe dispares moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio jungerentur, fortuna, credo, populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servii regnum esset constituique civitatis mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiae in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum versa Tarquinium eum mirari, eum virum[2] dicere ac regio sanguine ortum; spernere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia.[3] Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit malum malo aptissimum;[4] sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni assuefacta sermonibus, nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum: et se rectius viduam et illum coelibem futurum fuisse contendere, quam cum impari jungi, ut elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset. Si sibi eum, quo digna esset, dii dedissent virum, domi se propediem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adolescentem suae temeritatis implet. L. Tarquinius et Tullia minor prope continuatis funeribus[5] cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, junguntur nuptiis, magis non prohibente Servio quam approbante.

47. Tum vero in dies infestior[6] Tullii senectus, infestius coepit regnum esse. Jam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus; nec nocte nec interdiu virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita[7] praeterita parricidia essent. Non sibi defuisse cui nupta diceretur, nec cum quo tacita serviret: defuisse qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquinii filium, qui habere quam sperare regnum mallet. 'Si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello: sin minus, eo nunc pejus mutata res est, quod istic[8] cum ignavia est scelus. Quin accingeris?

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[1] 'Likewise;' for *et ipse* is used when two persons have one predicate, whereas *idem, idemque* is employed when one person has two predicates.

[2] That is, *vere virum ac vere regio*, &c.

[3] 'Had not the boldness which became his wife,' so that the *muliebris audacia* is not a quality attributed to women generally, but required by this *mulier* particularly.

[4] 'As generally one evil fits close in to another;' *aptissimum fit*, equivalent to *aptissime conjungitur*.

[5] 'The funerals (preceded by murders) were close to each other:' the one followed the other almost without any interval of time.

[6] 'Passively,' 'insecure,' 'an object of hostility.'

[7] 'Useless,' 'committed to no purpose.' So iii. 37, *ne gratuita crudelitas esset*.

[8] 'In thee.' As to *iste*, with its derivatives, the demonstrative pronoun of the second person, see *Gram.* § 115, and Zumpt, § 701.

Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri[1] necesse est. Dii te penates patriique, et patris imago,[2] et domus regia, et in domo regale solium, et nomen Tarquinium[3] creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad haec parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? Quid te ut regium juvenem conspici sinis? Facesse hinc Tarquinios aut Corinthum; devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratri similior quam patri.'[4] His aliisque increpando juvenem instigat, nec conquiescere ipsa potest, si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa regio semine orta nullum momentum[5] in dando adimendoque regno faceret. His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire et prensare minorum maxime gentium[6] Patres; admonere paterni beneficii, ac pro eo gratiam repetere; allicere donis juvenes; cum[7] de se ingentia pollicendo, tum regis criminibus omnibus locis crescere. Postremo ut jam agendae rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum in forum irrupit; inde omnibus perculsis pavore, in regia sede pro curia sedens, Patres in curiam per praeconem ad regem Tarquinium citari jussit. Convenere extemplo, alii jam ante ad hoc praeparati, alii metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo attoniti et jam de Servio actum[8] rati. Ibi Tarquinius maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus: Servum servaque natum post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus Patribus, muliebri dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo cuique divi-

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[1] Equivalent to *moleste comparare*, 'to gain with difficulty.'

[2] In the sense of *nobilitas*. See i. 34.

[3] Used adjectively, like *lex Tullia, horrea Sempronia, pila Horatia*, &c. wherever the name has an adjective form. Compare i. 26, p. 52, note 1.

[4] The Florentine manuscript has genitives here, *fratris—patris*, and this case is very suitable, since the similarity is in mental, not bodily qualities. However, the dative also occurs sometimes in this sense.

[5] 'Influence, power.'

[6] See i. 35, p. 66, note 5.

[7] Instead of the ordinary reading, *tum—tum*, we have given from the best manuscripts *cum—tum*, because the accusations are the special means by which Tarquin forms a party for himself, and this in what follows is carried out still further.

[8] 'That Servius (to use a vulgar English phrase, which much resembles the Latin) was finished or done for;' that is, was killed.

sisse; omnia onera, quae communia quondam fuerint, inclinasse in primores civitatis;[1] instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset, et parata unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis largiretur.

48. Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset, trepido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magna voce 'Quid hoc,' inquit, 'Tarquini, rei est? qua tu audacia me vivo vocare ausus es Patres aut in sede considere mea?' Cum ille ferociter ad haec, se patris sui tenere sedem, multo quam servum potiorem filium regis regni heredem; satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse dominis;[2] clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur, et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque, regnaturum qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate jam ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et viribus validior medium arripit Servium, elatumque e curia in inferiorem partem[3] per gradus dejicit; inde ad cogendum senatum in curiam redit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum: ipse prope exsanguis ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant, interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tulliae id factum: carpento certe, id quod satis constat, in forum invecta, nec reverita coetum virorum, evocavit virum e curia, regemque prima appellavit. A quo facessere jussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum reciperet, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti[4] carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum, ut in collem Esquiliarum eveheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is, qui jumenta agebat, jacentemque dominae Servium trucidatum ostendit. Foedum inhumanumque inde traditur scelus, monumentoque locus est: Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo amens, agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri, Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac

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[1] Inasmuch as the lowest division of the people was freed both from taxes and military service, as is stated in i. 43. *Haec omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera.* The assertion that Servius had taken landed property from the nobles can only be true thus far, if the nobles claimed the right of dividing the conquered land among their clients, as was probably the case before the time of Servius.

[2] Tarquinius and his family are called *domini*, 'masters of slaves,' in contrast to the slave Servius.

[3] *Inferior pars* is 'the ground,' *solum*.

[4] The dative *flectenti* is connected in a somewhat free fashion with the sentence *restitit auriga:* 'to her as she turned to the right hand into the Urbian street, the driver stopped,' the same as *auriga Tulliae flectentis—cum flecteret. Clivus* is 'a steep street.' According to Dionysius, the street here mentioned was called originally *vicus Orbius*, afterwards *vicus Sceleratus*.

caedis paternae cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse ad penates suos virique sui: quibus iratis malo regni principio, similes propediem exitus sequerentur.[1]

Ser. Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadraginta, ita ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul justa ac legitima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitanti intervenisset.

49. Inde L. Tarquinius regnare occepit,[2] cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse dictitans, primoresque Patrum, quos Servii rebus favisse credebat, interfecit. Conscius deinde male quaerendi regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circumsepsit. Neque enim ad jus regni quicquam praeter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi jussu neque auctoribus Patribus regnaret.[3] Eo accedebat ut[4] in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset. Quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones[5] capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat; perque eam causam occidere, in exilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset. Ita Patrum praecipue numero imminuto, statuit nullos in Patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo esset, minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit; domesticis consiliis rem publicam administravit;

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[1] 'Through whose anger (namely, that of the penates) at the wicked beginning of the reign, a similar end (similar to the beginning) should soon follow.'

[2] Besides *coepi* and *incipio*, we find (more rarely, however, and not in Cicero) *occoepi* and *occipio* in the same sense.

[3] Thus Tarquinius himself committed the same crime of which (i. 46) he is said to have accused Servius.

[4] The proper construction is *accedit quod*, 'the circumstance is added that.' *Accedit ut*, however, is also frequently used. See *Gram.* § 352, note 1.

[5] Cognisance taken by an ordinary magistrate, whereas *judicia* are trials where there are regular *judices*. The verbs *cognoscere* and *judicare* are used with the same distinction. The following *per eam causam* must be taken to mean 'under this form;' that is, by a magisterial, not a judicial decree.

bellum, pacem, foedera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, injussu populi ac senatus, fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliabat, ut peregrinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset; neque hospitia modo cum primoribus eorum, sed affinitates quoque jungebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano (is longe princeps Latini nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Ulixe deaque Circa[1] oriundus) ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat, perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque ejus conciliat.

50. Jam magna Tarquinii auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat, cum in diem certam ut ad lucum Ferentinae[2] conveniant indicit: esse quae agere de rebus communibus velit. Conveniunt frequentes prima luce: ipse Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante quam sol occideret venit. Multa ibi toto die in concilio variis jactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus: Haud mirum esse Superbo inditum Romae cognomen (jam enim ita clam quidem mussitantes, vulgo tamen eum appellabant): an quicquam superbius esse quam ludificari sic omne nomen Latinum? Principibus longe ab domo excitis, ipsum, qui concilium indixerit, non adesse. Temptari profecto patientiam, ut, si jugum acceperint, obnoxios[3] premat. Cui enim non apparere affectare eum imperium in Latinos? quod[4] si sui bene crediderint cives, aut si creditum illud et non raptum parricidio sit, credere et Latinos, quamquam ne sic quidem alienigenae, debere.[5] Sin suos ejus poeniteat, quippe qui alii super alios trucidentur, exulatum eant, bona amittant, quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si se audiant, domum suam quemque inde abituros, neque magis observaturos diem concilii, quam ipse, qui indixerit, observet. Haec atque alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus facinorosusque homo,[6] hisque artibus opes domi nactus, cum

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[1] The sorceress Circe, known to us from the Odyssey. The name has here a Latin termination: the usage in this respect is by no means settled. See *Gram.* § 55, notes 1 and 4. Regarding the origin of Roman and Latin *gentes*, see i. 3.

[2] The fountain and grove of Ferentina were among the Alban mountains, between the modern townships of Albano and Marino: a rivulet flowing from the fountain falls into the Tiber below Rome.

[3] 'His subjects.'

[4] Namely, *imperium:* 'if his own fellow-citizens had conferred it on him in a proper manner.'

[5] 'The Latins, too, ought to commit it to one, though not to a foreigner.'

[6] It is rather remarkable that Livy, himself a detester of Tarquin, calls Turnus 'a seditious and violent man,' because he spoke against

maxime dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit: aversi omnes ad Tarquinium salutandum. Qui silentio facto, monitus a proximis, ut purgaret se, quod id temporis[1] venisset, disceptatorem ait se sumptum inter patrem et filium, cura reconciliandi eos in gratiam moratum esse; et quia ea res exemisset illum diem,[2] postero die acturum quae constituisset. Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt.[3] Dixisse enim nullam breviorem esse cognitionem, quam inter patrem et filium, paucisque transigi verbis posse: ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse.[4]

51. Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto, quam videbatur, aegrius ferens, confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrorem, quo civium animos domi oppresserat, Latinis injiceret. Et quia pro imperio[5] palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimine insontem oppressit. Per adversae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corrupit, ut in deversorium[6] ejus vim magnam gladiorum inferri clam sineret. Ea cum una nocte perfecta essent, Tarquinius paulo ante lucem accitis ad se principibus Latinorum, quasi re nova perturbatus, moram suam hesternam, velut deorum quadam providentia illatam, ait saluti sibi atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Aggressurum fuisse hesterno die in concilio: dilatam rem esse, quod auctor concilii afuerit, quem maxime peteret: inde illam absentis insectationem esse natam, quod morando spem destituerit. Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin

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him. Perhaps he looked at the matter in such a decidedly Roman point of view as this: 'We Romans may speak what evil we please of our own tyrants, but we shall not allow any one else to do so.'

[1] Equivalent to *eo tempore:* the accusative *id* is considered as a sort of Greek construction. *Id aetatis*, too, is used for *ea aetate*, See *Gram.* § 260.

[2] *Eximere diem* is an expression used when in any meeting some man or piece of business occupies the whole day, so that nothing more can be done.

[3] *Tarquinius tacitum tulit* (upon the analogy of *impunitum tulit*), 'he had the satisfaction of hearing nothing said on the subject.'

[4] An expression of common life, *feres* or *habebis infortunium*, 'you will suffer a misfortune,' which, in plain English, means here 'a good beating.'

[5] 'By virtue of any official power' (which as yet he did not possess over the Latins). *Imperium* is equivalent to *potestas*, but expressive of a military power.

[6] 'Quarters,' where Turnus had taken lodgings (*deverterat*). We must suppose that there was a village near the *lucus Ferentinae.*

prima luce, ubi ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum conjuratorum manu armatusque venturus sit. Dici gladiorum ingentem esse numerum ad eum convectum: id vanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse. Rogare eos ut inde secum ad Turnum veniant. Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox et oratio hesterna et mora Tarquinii, quod videbatur ob eam differri caedes potuisse. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen nisi gladiis deprehensis cetera vana existimaturi. Ubi est eo ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circumsistunt custodes; comprehensisque servis, qui caritate domini vim parabant, cum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis deverticuli protraherentur, enimvero[1] manifesta res visa, injectaeque Turno catenae. Et confestim Latinorum concilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis, ut indicta causa, novo genere leti,[2] dejectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae crate superne injecta saxisque congestis mergeretur.

52. Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius, collaudatisque qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto parricidio merita poena affecissent, ita verba fecit: Posse quidem se vetusto jure agere, quod, cum omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint, in eo foedere teneantur,[3] quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum colonis suis in Romanum cesserit imperium. Ceterum se utilitatis id magis omnium causa censere, ut renovetur id foedus, secundaque potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur, quam urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante perpessi sint, semper aut expectent aut patiantur. Haud difficultur persuasum Latinis, quamquam in eo foedere superior Romana res erat. Ceterum et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant, et Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat documentum. Ita renovatum foedus,[4] indictumque

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[1] *Enimvero* in the apodosis strengthens the statement: 'assuredly the thing appeared manifest.'

[2] An old and principally poetical word, used by Livy but seldom, for the ordinary *nex—necis*.

[3] The ordinary expression is *foedere teneri*, but *in* is a fuller form; 'to be held together in a league.'

[4] The sum of this story, then, is, that Tarquinius Superbus gained a supremacy over Latium, and bound it to Rome in a new league. This league, however, was broken when Tarquin was expelled from Rome, as we shall see hereafter. The statement that Roman and Latin soldiers were united in maniples (companies) of double strength, seems chiefly to be intended to account for the fact, that a maniple in a Roman legion consisted of two centuries, each with a

junioribus Latinorum, ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum Ferentinae armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem suum neve secretum[1] imperium propriave signa haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret binosque ex singulis. Ita geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit.

53. Nec ut injustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit: quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum in aliis[2] huic quoque decori offecisset. Is primus Volscis[3] bellum in ducentos amplius post suam aetatem annos[4] movit, Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit. Ubi cum divendenda praeda quadraginta talenta argenti[5] refecisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Jovis templi, quae digna deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci[6] majestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in aedificationem ejus templi seposuit.

Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios,[7] propinquam urbem, nequicquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo aggressus est.

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centurion. In historical times we do not find this union of Romans and Latins in maniples.

[1] Here used in its proper sense, 'separate, distinct,' *separatum*.

[2] 'The circumstance that in other things the example of the former kings had not been followed by him;' that is, briefly, 'his dissimilarity in other respects:' *degenerare*, 'to grow unlike one's ancestors.' The perfect participle passive used instead of a verbal substantive, as elsewhere *auditum* for *fama* or *nuntius*. See Zumpt, § 614, note 1.

[3] The Volscians were a warlike nation, dwelling south of the Prisci Latini, in the mountainous district towards the source of the Liris, in the townships of Sora, Arpinum, Atina, down on the sea-coast in Anxur (Terracina), and in the Pomptine Plain (see i. 41, p. 73, note 7) as far as Antium. The wars which the Volscians carried on with the Romans and with the Latins with varied success, occupy a great part of the early Roman history. The Volscians were subdued at length, lost Antium and Anxur, and remained then confined to their mountains on the Liris.

[4] The expression 'for more than 200 years' seems to refer to the settlement of a colony in Sora, and the admission of the inhabitants of Arpinum, the chief town of the Volscians, to the rights of citizenship. Both of these events occurred in the year 203 B.C.

[5] As to the amount of this sum, see Zumpt, § 874. *Aurique*, which in many editions is added to *argenti*, is inadmissible.

[6] Namely, the Capitoline hill, which, however, in fact owed its *majestas* to the temple.

[7] *Gabii*, now in ruins, was situated about half-way between Rome and Praeneste (Palestrina) being twelve Roman miles from each city.

Nam cum velut posito bello fundamentis templi faciendis[1] aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius ejus, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens. Jam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam; et liberorum quoque eum frequentiae[2] taedere, ut, quam in curia solitudinem fecerit, domi quoque faciat, ne quam stirpem, ne quem heredem regni relinquat. Se quidem inter tela et gladios patris elapsum, nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquinii credidisse. Nam ne errarent, manere iis bellum, quod positum simuletur, et per occasionem eum incautos invasurum. Quodsi apud eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium, Volscosque se inde et Aequos et Hernicos petiturum, donec ad eas perveniat, qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis supliciis tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inventurum. Cum, si nihil morarentur,[3] infensus ira porro inde abiturus videretur, benigne ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari, si qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset. In se ipsum postremo saeviturum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum ejus esse, futurumque credere. brevi ut illo adjuvante a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

54. Inde in consilia[4] publica adhiberi. Ubi cum de aliis rebus assentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus eae notiores essent, ipse identidem belli auctor esse et in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam assumere, quod utriusque populi vires nosset, sciretque invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuissent. Ita cum sensim ad rebellandum[5] primores Gabinorum incitaret,

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[1] The best manuscripts give *faciendis*, not *jaciendis*. Both verbs are used in this sense; but this may be said in favour of our reading, that the deeper foundations to which *jaciendis* would properly apply had been laid some time before, as we learn from i. 38, *ad fin.*

[2] *Frequentia* means usually 'thronging, crowding; the presence of great numbers,' not merely 'a great number,' *magnus numerus*. The word has here, too, its proper meaning, and expresses that the king is wearied, not because he has many children merely, but because he has many about him.

[3] *Nihil te moror*, 'I do not delay you,' therefore 'I dismiss you,' used particularly at the dismission of the senate by the presiding magistrate. *Nihil* for *non*, as *οὐδὲν* for *οὐ*. See Zumpt, § 677.

[4] The ordinary reading is *concilia*, but *consilia* is better; for a council summoned to give advice, such as a council of war, is not meant.

[5] In its proper and most frequent sense, 'to renew the war.'

ipse cum promptissimis juvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana accresceret fides, dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi cum, inscia multitudine quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tarquinium dono deum sibi missum ducem credere. Apud milites vero obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, praedam munifice largiendo, tanta caritate esse, ut non pater Tarquinius potentior Romae quam filius Gabiis esset. Itaque postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes conatus videbat, tum ex suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad patrem mittit, quidnam se facere vellet, quandoquidem, ut omnia unus Gabiis[1] posset, ei dii dedissent. Huic nuntio, quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est. Rex velut deliberabundus in hortum aedium transit, sequente nuntio filii: ibi inambulans tacitus summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decussisse. Interrogando expectandoque responsum nuntius fessus, ut re imperfecta, redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse quaeque viderit, refert: seu ira seu odio seu superbia insita ingenio nullam eum vocem emisisse. Sexto ubi quid vellet parens quidve praeciperet tacitis ambagibus[2] patuit, primores civitatis, criminando alios apud populum, alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos[3] interemit. Multi palam, quidam, in quibus minus speciosa criminatio erat futura, clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, aut in exilium acti sunt, absentiumque bona juxta atque interemptorum divisui[4] fuere. Largitiones inde praedaeque, et dulcedine privati commodi sensus

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[1] The manuscripts read *p* or *prae Gabiis:* in the editions this doubtful word is omitted. We think the word *praetor*, in the sense of 'commander.' should be read; for Sextus, we have been told already, had been chosen leader. We have not ventured, however, to incorporate our conjecture with the text, but leave it to the judgment of the critical reader. For *ei*, in the next clause, *sibi* might have been used, making this a part of the order given to the messenger by Sextus: *ei* makes it a part of the historian's own narrative.

[2] 'By his silent round-about way of indicating what he meant.' This ablative belongs to *vellet* and *praeciperet*.

[3] 'Who, from the dislike which they themselves had incurred, afforded opportunity or occasion.' Usually only matters or positions of affairs are called *opportuna;* but a man, too, is in reality *opportunus* when his character is such that upon him, or through him, something can be effected. Compare ii. 12.

[4] This verbal substantive occurs only in the dative ('subject to,' or 'objects of division'), like others similarly formed. See *Gram.* § 80, 5, note 1.

malorum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in manum traditur.[1]

55. Gabiis receptis Tarquinius pacem cum Aequorum gente fecit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia urbana animum convertit. Quorum erat primum, ut Jovis templum in monte Tarpejo[2] monumentum regni sui nominisque relinqueret: Tarquinios reges ambos, patrem vovisse, filium perfecisse. Et ut libera a ceteris religionibus area esset tota Jovis templique ejus, quod inaedificaretur, exaugurare[3] fana sacellaque statuit, quae aliquot ibi a Tatio rege primum in ipso discrimine adversus Romulum pugnae vota, consecrata inaugurataque postea fuerant. Inter principia condendi hujus operis movisse numen[4] ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos: nam cum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere. Idque omen auguriumque ita acceptum est, non motam Termini sedem unumque eum deorum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus[5] firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere. Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto, secutum aliud magnitudinem imperii portendens prodigium est. Caput

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[1] Thus the Latin city of Gabii came into the hands of Tarquin. The manner in which this was effected—namely, by the pretended flight of Sextus to the Gabines—is very like the way described by Herodotus, in which the Persian king Darius retook Babylon (516 B.C.). The message, too, which King Tarquin sent to his son bears a remarkable resemblance to that which (Herod. v. 92) Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus, sent to Periander of Corinth (about 600 B.C.). Now there is no doubt that we frequently find striking similarities between events occurring in different ages and different nations; still, we cannot help thinking that the correspondence between the Roman king and his son is an 'elegant extract' from Greek history.

[2] The Capitoline Hill has two peaks, with a slight depression between them. The south-west peak, on which this temple was built, is the *Mons Tarpeius;* the north-eastern, which was in later times occupied by the temple of Juno Moneta, was specially known as the *arx*, after that name ceased to be applied to the whole Capitoline Hill.

[3] As no temple was built in a place, except *augurato*, 'with the will of the gods,' so without their consent none could be destroyed or devoted to another purpose: this is *exaugurare*, 'to unhallow.'

[4] *Dii numen movent*, 'the gods signify their will.'

[5] 'The immovability of Terminus, and the circumstance that he was the only one of the gods who could not be brought out of his consecrated bounds.' Dionysius, and Livy himself in another passage (v. 54), mention that the altar of the goddess Juventas, too, could not be exaugurated—a promise of eternal youth to the city and state.

humanum integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse. Quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam[1] imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat: idque ita cecinere vates, quique in urbe erant, quosque ad eam rem consultandam ex Etruria acciverant. Augebatur ad impensas regis animus. Itaque Pometinae manubiae,[2] quae perducendo ad culmen operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta suppeditavere.[3] Eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse, quam Pisoni, qui quadraginta millia pondo[4] argenti seposita in eam rem scribit, summam pecuniae neque ex unius tum urbis praeda sperandam, et nullius, ne horum quidem magnificentiae operum,[5] fundamenta non exsuperaturam.

56. Intentus perficiendo templo, fabris undique ex Etruria accitis, non pecunia solum ad id publica est usus, sed operis[6] etiam ex plebe. Qui cum, haud parvus et ipse, militiae adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravabatur, se templa deum exaedificare manibus suis, quam postquam et ad alia, ut specie minora, sic laboris aliquanto majoris traducebantur[7] opera, foros[8] in circo faciendos cloacamque maximam, recep-

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[1] 'That *this* would be the citadel; not *id*, however, but *eam*, in the gender of the predicate. See *Gram.* § 232, 3. *Que—que* in the latter part of the sentence, instead of *et—et*, used commonly only by poets, but by Livy also in this connection of two relatives. See Zumpt, § 338.

[2] According to the explanation given by an ancient scholar in Gellius, xiii. 24, *manubiae* was the name given to the money realised by the sale of booty, and this meaning is quite appropriate to the present passage. But from other passages we are led to believe *manubiae* to have been rather the profits resulting from a great successful battle.

[3] *Suppeditare*, usually transitive, 'to supply;' but often, as here, intransitive, 'to be sufficient'=*suppetere, sufficere*. Compare, as to this double signification of several verbs, Zumpt, § 145.

[4] 'Pounds;' in this sense an indeclinable substantive, plural, properly an ablative singular, 'in weight,' *scil. librae*. See *Gram.* § 79, note 3.

[5] *Opus magnificentiae=opus magnificum;* thus, 'a sum which would surpass (be more than sufficient for) the foundations of any edifice, and even of the present magnificent works (buildings).' In translating into English, we must draw the *non* from the verb, and connect it with *nullius*, when we have *nullius non=cujuslibet:* but had Livy written *cujuslibet*, he would have put after it not *ne—quidem*, but the positive *etiam* (or *vel*) *horum operum*.

[6] *Operae* are 'common labourers, workmen.'

[7] Instead of the ordinary *traducebatur*, we read from the best manuscripts, the plural form *traducebantur*, agreeing with the collective *plebs*.

[8] See i. 35, p. 67, note 1.

taculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terram agendam; quibus duobus operibus vix nova haec magnificentia quicquam adaequare potuit.[1] His laboribus exercitata plebe, quia et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset,[2] oneri rebatur esse, et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circeiosque[3] colonos misit, praesidia urbi futura terra marique.

Haec agenti portentum terribile visum. anguis ex columna lignea elapsus cum terrorem fugamque in regiam[4] fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit pectus, quam anxiis implevit curis. Itaque cum ad publica prodigia Etrusci tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico exterritus visu Delphos ad maxime inclitum in terris oraculum mittere statuit. Neque responsa sortium ulli alii committere ausus, duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria in Graeciam misit. Titus et Aruns profecti. Comes iis additus L. Junius Brutus, Tarquinia, sorore regis, natus, juvenis longe alius ingenio quam cujus simulationem induerat. Is cum primores civitatis, in quibus[5] fratrem suum ab avunculo interfectum audisset, neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque tutus esse, ubi in jure parum praesidii esset. Ergo ex industria[6] factus ad

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[1] This is an interesting account, and we may conclude from it that Rome, under its last king, was possessed of considerable wealth, and executed some great works. The temple of Juppiter Capitolinus, however, as a specimen of architecture, is not much praised; because general beauty, springing from the harmony of the different parts, and a proper arrangement as to the length, breadth, and height, was little attended to; the plan being entirely dictated by ancient religious custom.

[2] 'When they could not be employed.'

[3] Two towns intended as strongholds against the Volscians, and therefore situated at a proper distance from Rome: Signia, above the Pontine plain, thirty-eight miles from Rome, on the side of the *via Latina*, now called Segni, and possessed of considerable monuments of antiquity; Circeii, on the sea-shore, on a promontory, near the *via Appia*, about sixty miles from Rome, and at the extreme point of her even then tolerably extended dominion. Circeii is not now in existence, at least it is not recognisable.

[4] We cannot consider the accusative as correct: it should be *in regia*, since undoubtedly the only place 'where' is to be expressed.

[5] Equivalent to *et in iis*, 'and among them,' as sometimes the relative is used without a verb belonging to it, merely for the demonstrative with a conjunction. The predicate, *interfectum esse*, agrees in number with the last-mentioned subject, *fratrem:* according to the conjunction, it should properly have been *interfectos*.

[6] 'After he had intentionally formed himself (his behaviour).' We usually find ***se componere, compositus***, in this sense.

imitationem stultitiae, cum se suaque praedae esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuit cognomen, ut sub ejus obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi Romani animus[1] latens opperiretur tempora sua. Is tum ab Tarquiniis ductus Delphos, ludibrium verius quam comes, aureum baculum inclusum corneo cavato ad id baculo tulisse donum Apollini dicitur, per ambages effigiem ingenii sui. Quo postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis cupido incessit animos juvenum sciscitandi, ad quem eorum regnum Romanum esset venturum. Ex infimo specu vocem redditam ferunt 'Imperium summum Romae habebit, qui vestrum primus, O juvenes, osculum matri tulerit.' Tarquinii, ut Sextus, qui Romae relictus fuerat, ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri jubent; ipsi inter se, uter prior, cum Romam redissent, matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt. Brutus alio ratus spectare Pythicam vocem, velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit, scilicet quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset. Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos bellum summa vi parabatur.

57. Ardeam Rutuli habebant,[2] gens, ut in ea regione atque in ea aetate,[3] divitiis praepollens. Eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quod rex Romanus cum ipse ditari, exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum, tum praeda delenire popularium animos studebat, praeter aliam superbiam regno infestos etiam, quod se in fabrorum ministerio ac servili tam diu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Temptata res est, si[4] primo impetu capi Ardea posset: ubi id parum processit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti premi hostes. In iis stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello, satis liberi commeatus[5] erant, primoribus tamen magis quam militibus. Regii quidem juvenes interdum otium conviviis comissationibusque[6] inter se terebant. Forte potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinium, ubi et Collatinus coenabat Tarquinius,

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[1] *Liberator animus* for *animus liberaturus populum Romanum*, with a somewhat free use of the substantive. In the same manner we might use the feminine, *mens liberatrix*. See *Gram.* § 88, note 3.

[2] As to Ardea, see i. 2.

[3] According to ordinary usage, the mere ablative would have been sufficient, but *in illa aetate* is found also in i. 18. Compare Zumpt, § 475, note, *ad fin.*

[4] *Si* for *num*, 'whether,' occurs not unfrequently.

[5] 'Leave of absence.'

[6] *Commissari* (from the Greek κῶμος) is to go about (particularly by night) from one house to another, and constantly begin the revel anew.

Egerii[1] filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio: suam quisque laudare miris modis. Inde certamine accenso, Collatinus negat verbis opus esse: paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris praestet Lucretia sua. 'Quin,[2] si vigor juventae inest, conscendimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostrarum ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit,[3] quod necopinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis.' Incaluerant vino. 'Age sane,' omnes. Citatis equis avolant Romam. Quo cum primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium[4] sedentem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquiniique excepti benigne. Victor maritus comiter invitat regios juvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit: cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno juvenali ludo in castra redeunt. Paucis interjectis diebus Sex. Tarquinius, inscio Collatino, cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Ubi exceptus benigne ab ignaris consilii, cum post coenam in hospitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis tuta circa sopitique omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso 'Tace, Lucretia,' inquit. 'Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est: moriere, si emiseris vocem.' Cum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem imminentem videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum. Ubi obstinatam videbat et ne mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus: cum mortua jugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore cum vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam velut victrix libido,[5] profectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore muliebri esset, Lucretia maesta tanto malo nuntium Romam eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad

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[1] See i. 34, and 38, *ad init.*

[2] See i. 45, note on *quin.*

[3] 'This will be most certain evidence to each of us:' *spectatum,* 'examined into,' 'made manifest.'

[4] 'In the middle of the house.' In the ancient private houses covered halls surrounded an open court. These halls were the common rooms of the *familia* (that is, domestics); the private chambers were situated round the halls.

[5] The lust was not in reality the conqueror, but merely apparently, *velut victrix.*

virum mittit, ut cum singulis fidelibus amicis veniant: ita facto maturatoque opus esse;[1] rem atrocem incidisse. Sp. Lucretius cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus cum L. Junio Bruto venit, cum quo forte Romam rediens ab nuntio uxoris erat conventus.[2] Lucretiam sedentem maestam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum lacrimae abortae. Quaerentique viro 'Satin salvae?'[3] 'Minime,' inquit: 'quid enim salvi est mulieri, amissa pudicitia! Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo. Ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons: mors testis erit. Sed date dextras fidemque, haud inpune adultero fore. Sex. est Tarquinius, qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte vi armatus mihi sibique, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium.' Dant ordine omnes fidem; consolantur aegram animi[4] avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti: Mentem peccare, non corpus; et unde consilium afuerit, culpam abesse. 'Vos,' inquit, 'videritis,[5] quid illi debeatur: ego me etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet.' Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit: prolapsaque in vulnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamat vir paterque.

58. Brutus, illis luctu occupatis, cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiae extractum, manantem cruore prae se tenens, 'per hunc,' inquit, 'castissimum ante regiam injuriam sanguinem juro, vosque, dii, testes facio, me L. Tarquinium Superbum, cum scelerata conjuge et omni liberorum stirpe, ferro, igni, quacunque dehinc vi possim, executurum,[6] nec illos nec alium

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[1] 'This must be done and be hastened;' that is, 'must be done hastily.' As to the construction of *opus esse* with the ablative of the perfect participle passive, see *Gram.* § 301, note 1.

[2] *Convenire aliquem*, 'to meet some one:' thus the verb *convenio*, naturally intransitive, receives a transitive meaning, governs the accusative, and may be used personally in the passive.

[3] It may be doubted, since *e* is very often written in the manuscripts for *ae*, whether the adverb or the adjective should be the reading here and in a similar passage, vi. 34. In iii. 26, we find *satin' salva sunt omnia*, and *salva res est* is very common. Probably, therefore, the reading *salvae* here is correct, and we should supply the plural *res*. The phrase *satin' recte, scil. agis*, might be brought forward in support of the other opinion, but the adverb *recte* is in common use, whereas *salve* is found only in the very latest Latinity, and even there but rarely.

[4] See i. 7, p. 25, note 4.

[5] Equivalent to *videbitis*, but implying speedy completion. See *Gram.* § 338, note 3.

[6] So the manuscripts read: our only remark is, that elsewhere *exequi*, for 'to pursue, follow out,' is joined only with the accusative of the thing (for example, *injuriam*), not with that of the person. For this reason other editions have adopted the conjecture *exacturum*.

quemquam regnare Romae passurum.' Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut praeceptum erat, jurant; totique ab luctu versi in iram Brutum jam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem sequuntur ducem. Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt, concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indignitate homines. Pro se quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet cum patris maestitia, tum Brutus castigator lacrimarum atque inertium querelarum, auctorque, quod viros, quod Romanos deceret, arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos.[1] Ferocissimus quisque juvenum cum armis voluntarius adest; sequitur et cetera juventus. Inde pari praesidio relicto[2] Collatiae ad portas, custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati duce Bruto Romam profecti. Ubi eo ventum est, quacunque incedit, armata multitudo pavorem ac tumultum facit. Rursus ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quicquid sit, haud temere esse rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romae tam atrox res facit, quam Collatiae fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quo simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum Celerum,[3] in quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat, populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita nequaquam ejus pectoris ingeniique, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquinii, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiae causa mortis indignior ac miserabilior esset. Addita superbia ipsius regis, miseriaeque et labores plebis in fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersae. Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos. Indigna Ser. Tullii regis memorata caedes, et invecta corpori patris nefando vehiculo filia; invocatique ultores parentum dii. His atrocioribusque, credo, aliis, quae praesens rerum indignitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus

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[1] 'Against those who had dared to do what usually only an enemy in open war attempts.'

[2] 'An equal (equally strong) guard being left at the gates:' *pari*, with reference to the following *ceteri Romam profecti*, which the author already has in his mind. The emendation *pars praesidio relicti*, for *pari praesidio relicto* is unnecessary.

[3] In i. 15, the *Celeres* were named as the body-guard of Romulus, 300 men strong. Probably, however, this word, in the annals followed by Livy, was used for Roman knights generally, so that the *tribunus Celerum* bore the same relation to the king as in later times the master of the horse to the dictator. The office of *tribunus Celerum*, or *equitum Romanorum*, is mentioned nowhere but here.

facilia subjicit,[1] memoratis incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium regi abrogaret, exulesque esse juberet L. Tarquinium cum conjuge ac liberis. Ipse junioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis armatisque, ad concitandum inde adversus regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis jam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit, execrantibus, quacunque incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

59. Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis, cum re nova trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam[2] Brutus (senserat enim adventum), ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore, diversis itineribus, Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam venerunt. Tarquinio clausae portae exiliumque indictum: liberatorem urbis laeta castra accepere, exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt. Sex. Tarquinius Gabios tamquam in suum regnum profectus, ab ultoribus veterum simultatium, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque concierat, est interfectus.

L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti. Regnatum Romae ab condita urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor. Duo consules inde comitiis centuriatis a praefecto urbis ex commentariis Ser. Tullii[3] creati sunt, L. Junius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

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[1] 'Other things which the present unworthiness of circumstances supplies, but which it is not an easy matter for historians to set down:' *rerum indignitas*, a Latin construction for *res indignae*, 'unworthy (that is, rebellious) state of matters:' *praesens*, 'what occurs at the present moment.'

[2] Equivalent to *iter flexit*, 'bent his course;' for, properly, *via* is the street or road, *iter* the journey along it.

[3] *Commentarii* or *commentaria* are notes kept by any one for his own use. The particular reference here is to the division of the people into classes; and by what is said, it is indicated that during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, the *Comitia Centuriata*, instituted by Servius, had not been in operation.



LIBER II

(1) Brutus binds the people by an oath not to allow the restoration of regal power. (2) Tarquinius Collatinus is obliged to resign his consulship, and is succeeded by P. Valerius. (3–5) Conspiracy among the young nobles to restore the exiled king. Brutus puts his sons to death for having taken part in the conspiracy. Distribution of the king's property, and consecration of the Campus Martius. (6) Tarquinius, supported by the Veientes and Tarquinienses, wages war against Rome. Brutus falls in battle. (7) End of the war, and suspicions against P. Valerius. (8) The Valerian laws. (9) Porsenna of Clusium tries to restore Tarquinius. (10) Horatius Cocles, and his defence of the Sublician bridge. (11–12) Porsenna encamped on the Janiculum, and the attempt of C. Mucius to kill him. (13) Porsenna sues for peace. Cloelia. (14) Aruns, the son of Porsenna, marches against Aricia. (15) Tarquinius retires to Tusculum, having given up all hope of recovering his throne. (16–17) Migration of the gens Claudia to Rome from the country of the Sabines. War against the Arunci. (18) T. Lartius, the first dictator. (19–20) Tarquinius, aided by the Latins, makes a last attempt to recover his throne. Battle of Lake Regillus. (21–22) Death of Tarquinius. War against the Volscians. (23–32) The plebs, oppressed by the severe law of debt, emigrate to the Mons Sacer. Menenius Agrippa. (33) Appointment of the tribunes of the plebs. Capture of Corioli, the capital of the Volsci, by C. Marcius Coriolanus. (34–35) Scarcity of provisions at Rome, and consequent exasperation of the plebs. Coriolanus exiled, goes to the Volscians. (36–37) T. Latinius. (38–40) Great war with the Volscians, who are commanded by Coriolanus. He is persuaded by his mother and wife to desist from the war against his own country. (41–42) First proposal of an agrarian war by Sp. Cassius. He is accused of aiming at kingly power, and put to death. (43–50) Wars with the Aequians and Veientes, and struggles between patricians and plebeians. The Fabii conduct the war against Veii, but their whole gens, with the exception of one member, is cut off on the Cremera. (51–57) End of the Veientine war. Disputes between the two estates, and the law of Publilius Volero. (58–65) Renewal of the Volscian and Aequian war. The consul App. Claudius being unsuccessful against the Volscians, on account of the unwillingness of the plebeians to fight, decimates his army. Further troubles between patricians and plebeians.

Liberi jam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum potentiora quam

hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnarunt, ut haud immerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis,[1] quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur. Neque ambigitur quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit,[2] si libertatis immaturae cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi[3] aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu agitari coepta esset tribuniciis procellis, et in aliena urbe cum Patribus serere[4] certamina, priusquam pignera conjugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore assuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum adultae discordia forent; quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis jam viribus ferre possent.[5] Libertatis autem originem inde magis quia annuum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres. Omnia jura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere. Id modo cautum est, ne, si ambo fasces[6] haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior, concedente collega, fasces habuit; qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat, quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum avidum novae libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, jurejurando adegit, neminem

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[1] Each of the former kings had enlarged the city, and was in so far a *conditor urbis*, at least of a part of it. King Numa did not effect any outward enlargement, but he, more than any of the others, deserves to be considered as a *conditor urbis;* because, as Livy (i. 19) says, he founded it anew by laws and institutions.

[2] 'Would have done so with very serious detriment to the state;' so *bonum publicum*, *malum publicum*. The indicative *facturus fuit* is frequently used as equivalent to *fecisset*, and the use of the subjunctive *fuerit* is required merely by its dependence on *non ambigitur quin*. Compare i. 7, p. 25, note 2. We make this remark, in order that the young student may not stumble at the connection here of the perfect subjunctive with the pluperfect (*extorsisset*).

[3] Namely, the asylum which Romulus (i. 8) is said to have established on the Capitoline Hill. As to the fact that *templum* does not mean merely or originally a covered building, see i. 6.

[4] Supply *coepisset* from the foregoing *coepta esset*.

[5] Namely, *res* (*jam adultae*), 'the state.'

[6] Bundles of rods, with an axe tied up in the middle of each, which were carried by the twelve lictors before the king; and were afterwards transferred to the consuls, with this provision, however, that each consul should have them, and with them the executive government of the republic, alternately, a month each time.

Romae passuros regnare. Deinde quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum Patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad trecentorum summam explevit.[1] Traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur qui Patres quique conscripti essent: conscriptos videlicet in novum senatum appellabant lectos.[2] Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis jungendosque Patribus plebis animos.

2. Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura: et quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi[3] regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subjecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cujus tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimis quoque rebus muniendo modum excesserint.[4] Consulis enim alterius cum nihil aliud offenderit, nomen invisum civitati fuit. Nimium Tarquinios regno assuesse: initium a Prisco factum. Regnasse dein Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto ob-

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[1] Livy omits to mention here that, among the knights, plebeians also were admitted into the senate at this time — a fact expressly stated by other writers (Dionysius, Plutarch, and Festus), and which, indeed, is plain from the history of later events. The majority of the senators, however, consisted of patricians—that is, descendants of the original Roman burghers or citizens, those who were, or at least from their citizenship might have been, members of the senate when first instituted by Romulus. *Plebs* and *plebeii*, when spoken of as a distinct class from the patricians, are not indefinitely the low rabble (*vulgus*), as in later times, but a special division of the people, different from the *clientes*, to whom the patricians were *patroni*. The *plebeii* were those who were taken into the city by the later kings, and settled principally on the Aventine and Caelian Hills, but excluded from the original institutions of the state and of religion. The double signification of the word *plebs* has been the source of many errors; but wherever the struggles between the patricians and plebeians are spoken of, the plebs are those whose origin and position we have just described.

[2] Livy thus accounts for the ordinary mode of addressing the senate, *Patres conscripti*, by the omission of *et*, which, as has been several times mentioned already, is often left out in ancient formulae.

[3] *Necubi*, the ordinary form for *ne alicubi:* as, in xxii. 23, *necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret*, for *ne alicunde*. See *Gram.* § 119. *Ne ubiubi*, which is the reading in other editions, can only be explained by an omission of *esset* ('lest, wherever it was'); but of this omission with the generalising relative adverb *ubiubi* no example can be brought forward.

[4] 'And perhaps they overstepped due bounds.' *Nescio an*, in the sense of 'I know not whether .... not,' and therefore for *fortasse* or *forsitan*, is very common.

litum tamquam alieni regni[1] Superbum Tarquinium velut hereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse: pulso Superbo penes Collatinum imperium esse. Nescire Tarquinios privatos vivere. Non placere nomen, periculosum libertati esse. Hic primo sensim temptantium animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem vocat. Ibi omnium primum jusjurandum populi recitat, neminem regnare passuros, nec esse[2] Romae, unde periculum libertati foret. Id summa ope tuendum esse; neque ullam rem, quae eo pertineat, contemnendam. Invitum se dicere hominis causa; nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas rei publicae vinceret. Non credere populum Romanum, solidam libertatem reciperatam esse. Regium genus, regium nomen non solum in civitate sed etiam in imperio esse: id officere, id obstare libertati. 'Hunc tu,' inquit, 'tua voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Meminimus, fatemur, ejecisti reges: absolve beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas tibi non solum reddent cives tui, auctore me; sed, si quid deest, munifice augebunt. Amicus abi: exonera civitatem vano forsitan metu. Ita persuasum est animus cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum.' Consuli primo tam novae rei ac subitae admiratio incluserat vocem: dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumsistunt, eadem multis precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem movebant minus: postquam Sp. Lucretius major aetate ac dignitate, socer praeterea ipsius, agere varie rogando alternis[3] suadendoque coepit, ut vinci se consensu civitatis pateretur, timens consul ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa cum bonorum amissione additaque alia insuper ignominia acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu, rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium[4] translatis civitate cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum tulit ut omnes Tarquiniae gentis exules essent; collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium, quo adjutore reges ejecerat.

3. Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset, bellum ab Tar-

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[1] He thought the sovereignty his own proper inheritance, forgetting first, that his family was not Roman; and secondly, that Servius Tullius had intervened between Tarquinius Priscus and himself.

[2] Supply *passuras*, 'that they would not suffer any one to exist in Rome from whom any danger to liberty might arise.' *Unde*, referring to persons for *a quo*, is not rare: for example, *is unde petitur*, a legal expression for 'the accused.'

[3] *Alternis*, used as an adverb, 'alternately,' and much more common than *alterne* or *alternatim*. Originally it was the ablative of the adjective, *vicibus* being understood.

[4] A Latin, and therefore foreign town, as to which see i. 1.

quiniis imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit. Ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac proditionem prope libertas amissa est. Erant in Romana juventute adolescentes aliquot, nec[1] ii tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adolescentium Tarquiniorum, assueti more regio vivere. Eam tum aequato jure omnium licentiam quaerentes, libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse[2] servitutem inter se conquerebantur: Regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi jus, ubi injuria opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere posse; inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen nosse. Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti: nihil laxamenti nec veniae habere, si modum excesseris. Periculosum esse in tot humanis erroribus sola innocentia vivere. Ita jam sua sponte aegris animis legati ab regibus superveniunt, sine mentione reditus bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit,[3] ne non reddita belli causa, reddita belli materia et adjumentum essent.[4] Interim legati alii alia moliri; aperte bona repetentes, clam recuperandi regni consilia struere. Et tamquam ad id, quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium adolescentium animos pertemptant. A quibus placide oratio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquiniis reddunt, et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus colloquuntur.

4. Vitelliis Aquilliisque fratribus primo commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat; jamque ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque. Eos quoque in societatem consilii avunculi assumunt. Praeterea aliquot nobiles adolescentes conscii assumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abiit.[5] Interim cum in senatu vicisset sententia, quae censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad vehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent, quibus

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[1] 'And these, too, not of low birth.' *Et is*, or, negatively, *nec is*, sometimes with the addition of *quidem*, gives a more specific definition.

[2] Intransitive, or, as we may also say, with the omission of *se*. See *Gram.* § 248, note 2.

[3] We might supply *senatum*, 'occupied the senate.' But the verb is frequently used by Livy in an intransitive sense, 'to continue.' Compare i. 4, note.

[4] Some manuscripts read *esset*, which grammatically is equally correct, referring to the last predicate: *materia*, in the figurative sense of 'fuel for the flame of war.'

[5] 'Died out, perished.' *Interiit* and *intercidit* are more common in this sense.

regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum conjuratis consultando absumunt, evincuntque instando, ut litterae sibi ad Tarquinios darentur: nam aliter qui[1] credituros eos, non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis afferri? Datae litterae, ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam cum pridie quam legati ad Tarquinios proficiscerentur, et coenatum forte apud Vitellios esset, conjuratique ibi remotis arbitris multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermonem eorum ex servis unus excepit, qui jam antea id senserat agi: sed eam occasionem, ut litterae legatis darentur, quae deprehensae rem coarguere possent, expectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detulit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos conjuratosque profecti domo sine tumultu rem omnem oppressere, litterarum imprimis habita cura, ne interciderent. Proditoribus extemplo in vincula conjectis, de legatis paululum addubitatum est; et quamquam visi sunt commisisse, ut hostium loco essent, jus tamen gentium valuit.

5. De bonis regiis, quae reddi[2] ante censuerant, res integra refertur ad Patres. Ibi[3] victi ira vetuere reddi, vetuere in publicum redigi: diripienda plebi sunt data, ut contacta[4] regia praeda spem in perpetuum cum iis pacis amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti Martius deinde campus fuit.[5] Forte ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. Quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat[6] consumere, desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa corbibus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem aqua, ut mediis caloribus solet. Ita in vadis haesitantis frumenti acervos sedisse illitos limo: insulam inde paulatim, et aliis, quae

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[1] 'How,' old ablative of *quid*. See *Gram.* § 118, note. *Super*, immediately afterwards, is used in the sense of *de*, 'concerning.' This use is confined almost entirely to the writers of the Silver Age.

[2] Equivalent to *reddenda*, which is the ordinary construction.

[3] The manuscripts read *ibi*, which must be understood of time= *tum:* the editions have *illi*.

[4] 'Touched'=*particeps;* or, if we take it in a bad sense=*infecta, commaculata*, 'infected,' 'stained.'

[5] Livy thus accounts for the name of the large field where the Roman youth practised military exercises, and where the *Comitia Centuriata*, in which the whole Roman people were arranged as an army, were held. Some connect the name with this latter fact. Traditional history consists in a great measure of the explanation of customs and names of men and places.

[6] 'There was a religious scruple:' *religioni erat*, because, as the field had been consecrated to Mars, the corn belonged to him.

fert temere flumen, eodem invectis, factam. Postea credo additas moles,[1] manuque adjutum, ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis esset. Direptis bonis regum damnati proditores sumptumque supplicium, conspectius eo quod poenae capiendae ministerium[2] patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi juvenes. Sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis homines, quam sceleris,[3] quo poenam meriti essent: illos eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Junia, Patres, plebem, quicquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exuli proderent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium nudatos virgis caedunt securique feriunt, cum inter omne tempus pater vultusque et os ejus spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicae poenae ministerium.[4] Secundum poenam nocentium, ut in utramque partem[5] arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium indici pecunia ex aerario, libertas et civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta[6] liberatus. Quidam vindictae quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum ut, qui ita liberati essent, in civitatem accepti viderentur.

6. His, sicut acta erant, nuntiatis, incensus Tarquinius

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[1] 'Banks, walls.' The island of the Tiber was in ancient times not only occupied by dwelling-houses, as it is at the present day, but had also a celebrated temple of Æsculapius. It is connected with each side of the river by a stone bridge.

[2] 'Official duty:' the word is commonly used of humble menial services, such as those of domestics.

[3] For the second member of the clause we must take out of *miseret* some such idea as *pudet* or *taedet*.

[4] This can mean nothing else than that, while Brutus was executing with strictness his duty to the public, his feelings as a father were betrayed by his countenance: Dionysius, however, states that the consul exhibited no sign of grief. Livy seems to have allowed for human nature. The father's feelings might be read by the spectators in his calm but pale face, even though he showed no direct token of sorrow.

[5] 'Both ways,' by punishing the criminals, and rewarding the informers.

[6] 'By the form of *vindicta*.' According to this form of manumission a slave was brought before the consul or praetor, who struck him thrice on the head with a rod (*festuca* or *vindicta*), and pronounced the words *Aio te liberum esse more Quiritium*.

non dolore solum tantae ad irritum cadentis spei, sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obseptam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus circumire supplex Etruriae urbes; orare maxime Veientes Tarquinienses que, ne se ortum,[1] ejusdem sanguinis, extorrem egentem ex tanto modo regno, cum liberis adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos: se regem, augentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis scelerata conjuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse; bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere, et persequi ingratos cives velle. Ferrent opem, adjuvarent; suas quoque veteres injurias ultum irent,[2] totiens caesas legiones, agrum ademptum.[3] Haec moverunt Veientes; ac pro se quisque Romano saltem duce ignominias demendas belloque amissa repetenda minaciter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio movet: pulchrum videbatur suos Romae regnare. Ita duo duarum civitatium exercitus ad repetendum regnum belloque persequendos Romanos secuti Tarquinium. Postquam in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviam hosti consules eunt. Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit; Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. Eodem modo primus eques[4] hostium agminis fuit; praeerat Aruns Tarquinius, filius regis: rex ipse cum legionibus[5] sequebatur. Aruns ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse, deinde jam propius ac certius facie quoque Brutum cognovit, inflammatus ira 'ille est vir,' inquit, 'qui nos extorres expulit patria. Ipse en ille, nostris decoratus insignibus, magnifice incedit. Dii regum ultores adeste.' Concitat calcaribus equum, atque in ipsum infestus consulem dirigit. Sensit in se iri[6] Brutus. Decorum erat tum ipsis capessere pugnam ducibus:[7] avide itaque se certamini offert. Adeoque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, dum hostem vulneraret, sui protegendi cor-

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[1] 'One sprung from themselves.' *Se* is the ablative, participles of descent, such as *genitus*, *ortus*, *editus*, *natus*, *satus*, being construed with the simple ablative. See *Gram.* § 303.

[2] A circumlocution for *ulciscerentur.*

[3] See i. 15.

[4] *Eques* taken collectively, as often.

[5] 'The troops of infantry:' *legio* used in a wide sense, as to which see i. 11, note.

[6] The passive, impersonally, for *illum in se ire.*

[7] A somewhat interesting remark, implying that the Roman generals of later times did not, when it could be avoided, enter on a personal encounter with a foe, but merely directed the movements of their troops.

poris memor, ut contrario ictu per parmam uterque transfixus, duabus haerentes hastis moribundi ex equis lapsi sint. Simul et cetera equestris pugna coepit; neque ita multo post et pedites superveniunt. Ibi varia victoria et velut aequo Marte[1] pugnatum est: dextra utrimque cornua vicere, laeva superata. Veientes, vinci ab Romano milite assueti, fusi fugatique; Tarquiniensis novus hostis non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua parte Romanum pepulit.

7. Ita cum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos incessit, ut omissa irrita re nocte ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adjiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio proximae noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam; haec dicta, uno plus[2] Tuscorum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello Romanum. Ita certe inde abiere Romani ut victores, Etrusci pro victis. Nam postquam illuxit nec quisquam hostium in conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit, triumphansque inde Romam rediit. Collegae funus quanto tum potuit apparatu fecit. Sed multo majus morti[3] decus publica fuit maestitia, eo ante omnia insignis, quia matronae annum ut parentem eum luxerunt, quod tam acer ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset.

Consuli deinde, qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles vulgi animi, ex favore non invidia modo sed suspicio etiam cum atroci crimine orta. Regnum eum affectare fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat[4] in locum Bruti, et aedificabat in summa Velia:[5] ibi alto atque munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fieri.[6] Haec dicta vulgo creditaque cum indig-

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[1] *Mars* for 'battle' is so common in Latin—see, for instance, i. 25, *aequato Marte*—that even *velut*, used here, which indicates the trope, is rarely added.

[2] This might have been *uno plures:* 'that on the side of the Etruscans one more (more by one) had fallen;' namely, than on that o. the Romans. See Zumpt, § 488, note 1.

[3] 'Was an honour to his death;' that is, to the deceased.

[4] *Rogare*, in the public sense, 'to bring a proposal before the people,' with the accusative; for example, *legem*, 'to bring forward a bill,' *consulem*, 'to propose the election of a consul as business in the Comitia;' *subrogare collegam* means, therefore, 'to bring forward a proposal for the election of a colleague in the place of him who was dead.'

[5] *Velia* was the name of a street on the Palatine, which, following the bends of the hill, had an upper and lower division (*summa*, *ima Velia*), as was the case with all the streets of a similar kind, such as the *via sacra*, for we read of a *summa*, *media*, and *ima via sacra*.

[6] So the people said, 'that a house was building which might stand for a castle.' Another reading, not so well supported, is *fore*.

nitate angerent consulis animum, vocato ad concilium populo, summissis fascibus[1] in contionem escendit. Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit, summissa sibi esse imperii insignia, confessionemque factam populi quam consulis majestatem vimque majorem esse. Ubi audire jussi, consul laudare fortunam collegae, quod liberata patria, in summo honore, pro re publica dimicans, matura gloria necdum se vertente in invidiam, mortem occubuisset. Se superstitem gloriae suae ad crimen atque invidiam superesse; ex liberatore patriae ad Aquillios se Vitelliosque recidisse.[2] 'Nunquamne ergo,' inquit, 'ulla adeo vobis spectata virtus erit, ut suspicione violari nequeat? Ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen subiturum timerem?[3] Ego si in ipsa arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me crederem posse a civibus meis? Tam levi momento[4] mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeone est fundata leviter fides, ut ubi sim, quam qui sim magis referat? Non obstabunt P. Valerii aedes libertati vestrae, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in planum modo aedes, sed colli etiam subjiciam, ut vos supra suspectum me civem habitetis. In Velia aedificent, quibus melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas.' Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam; et ubi nunc Vicaepotae[5] est, domus in infimo clivo aedificata.

8. Latae deinde leges non solum quae regni suspicione consulem absolverent, sed quae adeo in contrarium verterent, ut popularem etiam facerent. Inde cognomen factum Publicolae est. Ante omnes de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum, sacrandoque cum bonis capite ejus, qui regni

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[1] The *fasces* were borne by the lictors on the left shoulder; now the consul ordered them to be lowered, thus recognising the people as sovereign. This was always done afterwards, whenever the consuls entered an assembly of the people: hence the expression *fasces alicui summittere*, 'to acknowledge any one as a superior.' Livy omits to state here what is mentioned by Dionysius (v. 19), and by himself also in another passage, xxiv. 9, that Valerius took away the *secures* from the *fasces* so long as the consuls were within the city.

[2] That is, he had obtained the reputation of being a conspirator. See ii. 4, *ad init.*

[3] 'Should I fear?' The subjunctive dubitative. See *Gram.* § 349.

[4] That is, 'when my reputation and your fear of my making myself king are weighed against each other, does the former hang with so light a weight in the scales?' *Momentum* for *movimentum*, 'weight,' 'gravity.'

[5] Supply *aedes*. *Vicapota* (in which word appear the roots of *vincere* and *potiri*) was the old name for *Victoria* the goddess of victory, whose temple, as we see here, occupied, in the time of Livy, the spot where formerly stood the ancient house of the Valerii.

occupandi consilia inisset, gratae in vulgus leges fuere. Quas cum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum deinde comitia collegae subrogando habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu, non sufficientibus jam viribus ad consularia munera obeunda, intra paucos dies moritur. Suffectus in Lucretii locum M. Horatius Pulvillus. Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem; Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt: credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum, memoria intercidisse.[1] Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Jovis aedes: Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti, uter dedicaret: Horatio sorte evenit. Publicola ad Veientium bellum profectus. Aegrius quam dignum erat, tulere Valerii necessarii dedicationem tam inclyti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam alia frustra temptata erant, postem jam tenenti[2] consuli foedum inter precationem deum nuntium incutiunt, mortuum ejus filium esse, funestaque familia[3] dedicare eum templum non posse. Non, crediderit factum, an tantum animo roboris fuerit, nec traditur certum nec interpretatio est facilis. Nihil aliud ad eum nuntium a proposito aversus, quam ut cadaver efferri juberet, tenens postem precationem peragit et dedicat templum. Haec post exactos reges domi militiaeque gesta primo anno. Inde P. Valerius iterum, T. Lucretius consules facti.

9. Jam Tarquinii ad Lartem[4] Porsennam, Clusinum regem, perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque, nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, ejusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exulare pateretur; nunc monebant etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret: Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis: nisi quanta vi civitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant, aequari summa infimis; nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra cetera emineat, in

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[1] 'That his consulship fell out of men's memory.' It might also have been *ex* or *de memoria*. In ii. 33, we find *memoriā cessit*, 'escaped men's recollection.'

[2] It is mentioned by Cicero in his speech *pro domo*, chap. 46, that it was customary for the person engaged in consecrating a temple to take hold of the door-posts.

[3] A family was *funesta* so long as the dead body of one of its members lay in the house.

[4] *Lar* or *Lars*, gen. *Lartis*, is regarded by ancient writers as an Etruscan praenomen, and in iii. 64 we find a Roman called Lar Herminius. It is probable, however, that the word means 'lord,' and that the name of the household gods of the Romans, *Lares*, is connected with it. Some etymologists, going still farther, derive the English word 'lord,' and the Scotch 'laird' from *Lar*. Clusium, now Chiusi, an inland and once powerful Etruscan town.

civitatibus fore; adesse finem regnis, rei inter deos hominesque pulcherrimae.[1] Porsenna cum regem esse Romae, tum Etruscae gentis regem amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non unquam alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit: adeo valida res tum Clusina erat, magnumque Porsennae nomen. Nec hostes modo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs metu perculsa, receptis in urbem regibus, vel cum servitute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonae imprimis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi alii in Volscos, alii Cumas.[2] Salis quoque vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat, in publicum omni sumpto,[3] ademptum privatis. Portoriisque et tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent:[4] pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educerent.[5] Itaque haec indulgentia Patrum asperis postmodum rebus in

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[1] The sovereignty of Juppiter being acknowledged by the other gods.

[2] Cumae, the most ancient of all the Greek colonies planted either in Italy or Sicily, situated on the coast of Campania, had become itself the mother city of Dicaearchia (Puteoli) and Neapolis on its own coast, and of Zankle (afterwards Messana) in Sicily. Cumae was at this time (about 500 B.C.) at war with the Etruscans, and was powerful both by land and sea. Fifty years afterwards, it fell into the hands of the Campanian Samnites, and was barbarised, as Greek writers say. It rose again to importance when annexed to the Roman territory, but the only traces visible at the present day of the once mighty Cumae are a few insignificant ruins.

[3] The manuscripts have *omni sumptu*, which could only be explained by means of a difficult ellipsis, such as *tracto* or *recidente*, 'whilst all the expense was transferred to, or fell upon the state.' As this ellipsis cannot be tolerated, we have, chiefly upon the authority of Lipsius, made the slight alteration of *sumptu* into *sumpto*. The sense is this: 'the monopoly of salt (*salis vendendi arbitrium*, the right of selling salt as they chose, at their own price), as it was offered for sale at an exorbitant price, was taken from private individuals, all the salt being transferred to the state.' Livy speaks of the salt which the *salinae* at Ostia furnished in great abundance. When entirely in the hands of private persons, it was retailed to the public at far too high a price; the state, therefore, undertook the sale of it at a fixed and equitable price. Other editors prefer the correction of Gronovius, *omne sumptum*, by which *arbitrium* takes the sense of 'the farming,' which was let out (*venibat*) at a high price, and which the state now took to itself; but both this meaning of *arbitrium* and the explanation given to *venibat* seem very forced.

[4] 'Who were able to bear the burthen. See *Gram.* § 394, note.

[5] The manuscripts read *educent*, of which we make *educerent* with more justice than *educarent*, the reading of other editions. *Educere* refers to physical, *educare* to moral education.

obsidione ac fame adeo concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horrerent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

10. Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant; urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis. Alia muris, alia Tiberi objecto videbantur tuta. Pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit,[1] ni unus vir fuisset, Horatius Cocles: id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanae habuit. Qui positus forte in statione pontis, cum captum repentino impetu Janiculum[2] atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset, trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque relinquere, reprehensans[3] singulos, obsistens, obtestansque deum et hominum fidem, testabatur nequicquam deserto praesidio eos fugere. Si transitum pontem a tergo reliquissent,[4] jam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque quam in Janiculo fore. Itaque monere, praedicere ut pontem ferro, igni, quacunque vi possint,[5] interrumpant: se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum. Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis; insignisque inter conspecta cedentium pugnae[6] terga, obversis comminus ad ineundum proelium armis, ipso miraculo audaciae obstupefecit hostes. Duos tamen cum eo pudor tenuit, Sp. Lartium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam, et quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat, parumper sustinuit. Deinde eos quoque ipsos, exigua parte pontis relicta, revocantibus qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum coëgit. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum, nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes, servitia regum superborum, suae libertatis immemores alienam oppugnatum venire. Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut proelium inci-

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[1] A common construction, a past tense of the indicative for the pluperfect subjunctive in hypothetical sentences: 'afforded,' for the logical 'would have afforded.' The *paene*, however, changes the idea somewhat; thus, 'the bridge almost gave, in fact it would absolutely have given, if.' See *Gram.* § 346, 1.

[2] As to the Janiculum, see i. 33, p. 63, note 2. *Citatos=citos*, 'with rapidity.'

[3] 'Pulling back;' that is, taking hold of them (*prensans*), and forcing them to return.

[4] *Transitus pons*, 'the bridge, after they had crossed it, or after being crossed,' because actively *pontem transeo*.

[5] Thus, correctly, the best manuscripts, for the ordinary reading *possent*.

[6] 'Giving way to the battle,' or, as might also be said, *pugna*, ablative, 'retiring out of the battle.'

piant,[1] circumspectant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum hostem tela conjiciunt. Quae cum in objecto cuncta scuto haesissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, jam impetu conabantur detrudere virum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum, alacritate perfecti operis[2] sublatus, pavore subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles 'Tiberine pater' inquit, 'te sancte precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias.' Ita sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit, multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famae habituram ad posteros quam fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit: statua in comitio posita, agri quantum uno die circumaravit,[3] datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia eminebant: nam in magna inopia pro domesticis copiis unusquisque ei aliquid, fraudans se ipse[4] victu suo, contulit.

11. Porsenna primo conatu repulsus, consiliis ab oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in Janiculo locato ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit, navibus undique accitis et ad custodiam, ne quid Romam frumenti subvehi sineret, et ut praedatum milites trans flumen per occasiones aliis atque aliis locis trajiceret; brevique adeo

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[1] Gronovius wished *incipiat*, which Cicero, at all events, would have used. Livy, however, is fond of the plural with such expressions as *quisque, pro se quisque*, because, with a singular form, the meaning is plural.

[2] 'From joy at the completion of the work.'

[3] It is doubtful whether *circumarare* is merely used for *exarare*, or means, 'to go round with the plough.' Dionysius favours the latter sense by his use of the verb περιαροῦν. This word, however, might lie under the same ambiguity, were it not that, in describing a present, unquestionably of the same kind, to Mucius Scaevola, the unmistakable expression ἀρότρῳ περιλαβεῖν, 'to encompass (take round) with the plough,' is employed. Seneca too (*de benef.* vii. 7), says, that to a commander (*imperator*) there had been given *tantum agri, quantum arando uno die circuire posset:* this, however, on account of the term *imperatar*, cannot refer to Horatius Cocles, but seems rather to apply to the consul M'. Curius, who conquered the Samnites and Sabines more than two hundred years after this time. The present of as much land as a farmer could plough up with a team of oxen in one day (*jugum agri*) seems much more consistent with the limited dominion and comparative poverty of the young republic, than such a large gift as the literal translation of *circumarare* indicates. Still, the whole story is mythical, and we must leave it as we find it.

[4] Here we should expect *ipsum*, but this passage is a proof, one of many, that the Latin idiom, in this connection, is generally to join the *ipse* with the subject. See Zumpt, § 696, and Livy, xxii. 60.

infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddidit, ut non cetera solum ex agris sed pecus quoque omne in urbem compelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere auderet. Hoc tantum licentiae Etruscis non metu magis quam consilio concessum. Namque Valerius consul intentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos improviso adoriundi, in parvis rebus negligens ultor, gravem se ad majora vindicem servabat. Itaque ut eliceret praedatores, edicit suis, postero die frequentes porta Esquilina, quae aversissima ab hoste erat, expellerent pecus, scituros id hostes ratus, quod in obsidione et fame servitia infida transfugerent. Et scıere perfugae indicio; multoque plures, ut in spem universae praedae, flumen trajiciunt. P. Valerius inde T Herminium cum modicis copiis ad secundum lapidem Gabina via occultum considere jubet, Sp. Lartium cum expedita juventute ad portam Collinam stare, donec hostis praetereat; deinde se objicere, ne sit ad flumen reditus. Consulum alter T. Lucretius porta Naevia[1] cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus; ipse Valerius Caelio monte cohortes delectas educit:[2] hique primi apparuere hosti. Herminius ubi tumultum sensit, concurrit ex insidiis, versisque in Valerium Etruscis terga caedit. Dextra laevaque, hinc a porta Collina, illinc ab Naevia, redditus clamor. Ita caesi in medio praedatores, neque ad pugnam viribus pares, et ad fugam saeptis omnibus viis: finisque ille tam effuse evagandi Etruscis fuit.

12. Obsidio erat nihilo minus et frumenti cum summa caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem spem Porsenna habebat, cum C. Mucius,[3] adolescens nobilis, cui indignum videbatur populum Romanum servientem, cum

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[1] The *porta Naevia* was in the south-west side of the city wall, at the foot of the Aventine, and in quite an opposite direction from the *porta Collina*. We confess that, considering the great distance, we do not exactly understand how the consul Lucretius was to bring help to his colleague fighting at the *porta Caelimontana*. The general plan, however, is this, that the attack upon the Etruscans on the south-east side of the city should be supported by sallies of the Romans on the north-east and south-west, so that the Etruscans should be prevented from retreating to the Tiber (on the north of Rome).

[2] That is, by the *porta Caelimontana*, which was on the south-east side of the city, having the *Esquilina* on the left, and the *Capena* on the right.

[3] The words *cum C. Mucius* want their grammatical continuation, because the author, during the relation of accessory circumstances, forgets the construction which he has adopted, and goes on with a new sentence, *itaque—constituit.*

sub regibus esset, nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum ab iisdem Etruscis obsideri, quorum saepe exercitus fuderit. Itaque magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam ratus, primo sua sponte penetrare in hostium castra constituit; dein metuens, ne, si consulum injussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortuna tum urbis crimen affirmante, senatum adit. 'Transire Tiberim,' inquit, 'Patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non praedo, nec populationum invicem ultor: majus, si dii juvant, in animo est facinus.' Approbant Patres; abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur. Ubi eo venit, in confertissima turba prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi cum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ageret, eum milites vulgo adirent, timens sciscitari, uter Porsenna esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret, quis esset, quo temere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege obtruncat. Vadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, cum, concursu ad clamorem facto, comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus,[1] tum quoque inter tantas fortunae minas metuendus magis quam metuens, 'Romanus sum,' inquit, 'civis; C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui; nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad caedem: et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Nec unus in te ego hos animos gessi: longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si juvat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiae. Hoc tibi juventus Romana indicimus bellum: nullam aciem, nullum proelium timueris: uni tibi, et cum singulis, res erit.' Cum rex simul ira infensus periculoque conterritus circumdari ignes minitabundus juberet, nisi expromeret propere, quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages jaceret, 'En tibi,' inquit, 'ut sentias, quam vile corpus sit iis, qui magnam gloriam vident;' dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo injicit. Quam cum velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex, cum ab sede sua prosiluisset amoverique ab altaribus[2] juvenem jussisset, 'Tu vero abi,' inquit, 'in te magis quam

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[1] 'Placed,' it being implied 'alone.' Compare xxiii. 10.

[2] Used generally only in the plural, as here. The word, however, is not used in its proper sense in this passage, for it properly means a high altar in a temple.

in me hostilia ausus. Juberem macte virtute esse,[1] si pro mea patria ista virtus staret: nunc jure belli[2] liberum te, intactum inviolatumque hinc dimitto.' Tum Mucius, quasi remunerans meritum, 'Quandoquidem,' inquit, 'est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me, quod minis nequisti, trecenti conjuravimus principes juventutis Romanae, ut in te hac via grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit: ceteri, ut cuique ceciderit primo,[3] quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt.'

13. Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scaevolae a clade dextrae manus cognomen inditum, legati a Porsenna Romam secuti sunt. Adeo moverat eum et primi periculi casus, quo nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et subeunda dimicatio totiens, quot conjurati superessent, ut pacis condiciones ultro ferret Romanis. Jactatum in condicionibus nequicquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituendis, magis quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis, quam quod negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret. De agro Veientibus restituendo impetratum, expressaque necessitas obsides dandi Romanis, si Janiculo praesidium deduci vellent. His condicionibus composita pace,[4] exercitum ab Janiculo deduxit Porsenna et agro Romano excessit. Patres C. Mucio virtutis causa trans Tiberim agrum dono dedere, quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata. Ergo ita honorata virtute, feminae quoque ad publica decora excitatae. Et Cloelia virgo, una ex obsidibus, cum castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit, sos-

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[1] We should have had *mactum*, but this adjective is defective. See *Gram.* § 88, note 5, *fin.* Thus the vocative, which we find with the imperative, *macte esto*, remains unchanged with the infinitive.

[2] Equivalent to *a jure belli*, for the right of war justified his being put to death.

[3] 'In the order that the lot shall have fallen (out of the shaken urn) to each.' As to *opportunus*, see i. 54, p. 90, note 3.

[4] Thus peace was concluded, upon condition that the Romans should resign the territory taken from the Veientines (see i. 15), and for the sake, as we may assume, of future subjection, should give hostages to Porsenna. Livy states afterwards (chap. 15) that the lost territory was very soon recovered by the Romans. This, however, may be doubted, and in fact it appears generally that in this war the vanity of traditional history has concealed a heavy loss, and that Rome suffered a comparatively great diminution of territory. Tacitus (*Hist.* iii. 72) states as a fact, that the city of Rome surrendered to Porsenna (*dedita urbe*), and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 34. 14) informs us that, by the treaty with the Lars of Clusium, the Romans were forbidden the use of iron for any other than agricultural purposes.

pitesque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Cloeliam obsidem deposcendam; alias haud magni facere: deinde in admirationem versus, supra Coclites Muciosque dicere id facinus esse, et prae se ferre, quemadmodum si non dedatur obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam inviolatam ad suos remissurum. Utrimque constitit fides: et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem parte obsidum se donare dixit; ipsa quos vellet legeret. Productis omnibus elegisse impubes dicitur; quod et virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat,[1] eam aetatem potissimum liberari ab hoste, quae maxime opportuna injuriae esset. Pace redintegrata, Romani novam in femina virtutem novo genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere; in summa Sacra via fuit posita virgo insidens equo.[2]

14. Huic tam pacatae profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci abhorrens mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram aetatem inter cetera sollemnia manet,[3] bona Porsennae regis vendendi. Cujus originem moris necesse est aut inter bellum natam esse neque omissam in pace, aut a mitiore crevisse principio, quam hic prae se ferat titulus, bona hostiliter vendendi. Proximum vero est ex iis, quae traduntur, Porsennam discedentem ab Janiculo castra opulenta, convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae arvis commeatu, Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab longinqua obsidione; ea deinde, ne populo immisso diriperentur hostiliter, venisse, bonaque Porsennae appellata, gratiam muneris

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[1] Equivalent to *probari debebat.*

[2] As to the explanation of the name *Mucia prata*, and of the fact, that there was an old statue called that of Cloelia, see ii. 5, p. 104, note 5. The *summa Sacra via* means the upper part of that street on the Palatine: the lower division led into the Forum.

[3] In the ordinary editions the words *bonis vendendis* are added after *manet*, and are connected with *sollemnia*, 'among the other formalities for the sale of goods.' But these words are wanting in the best manuscripts, cumber the construction, and appear to have been added by some old copyist, according to the following *bona regis vendendi*, for the sake of explanation. What they state, too, is not quite correct; for the custom of putting up Porsenna's property for sale first was not observed at auctions of private goods, but, as Plutarch (Life of Valerius Publicola, chap. 19) tells us, only at those of state possessions (*bona publica*) — that is, when these were farmed out. The old custom probably originated in the confiscation of Porsenna's Roman possessions, when the Romans threw off his yoke. For everything leads us to believe that Porsenna's supremacy at Rome did not last long.

magis significante titulo quam auctionem fortunae regiae, quae ne in potestatem quidem populi Romani esset.[1]

Omisso Romano bello Porsenna, ne frustra in ea loca exercitus abductus videretur cum parte copiarum filium Aruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. Primo Aricinos res necopinata perculerat: arcessita deinde auxilia et a Latinis populis et a Cumis[2] tantum spei fecere, ut acie decernere auderent. Proelio inito adeo concitato impetu se intulerant Etrusci, ut funderent ipso incursu Aricinos. Cumanae cohortes arte adversus vim usae declinavere paululum, effuseque praelatos[3] hostes conversis signis ab tergo adortae sunt. Ita in medio prope jam victores caesi Etrusci: pars perexigua, duce amisso, quia nullum propius perfugium erat, Romam inermes et fortuna et specie supplicum[4] delati sunt. Ibi benigne excepti divisique in hospitia. Curatis vulneribus alii profecti domos, nuntii hospitalium beneficiorum: multos Romae hospitum urbisque caritas[5] tenuit. His locus ad habitandum datus, quem deinde Tuscum vicum appellarunt.

15. M. Horatius et P. Valerius Publicola inde Sp. Lartius et T. Herminius[6] consules facti. Eo anno postremum legati

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[1] For *in potestate*, an irregularity usual in some public formulae, but only sometimes retained by historians. Compare *Gram.* § 255, 1, note 1.

[2] See as to this city, ii. 9, p. 110, note 2. It seems strange that the Latins in Aricia should have sought help from Cumae, a city far distant, and separated from them by the territories of several independent tribes, such as the Volscians and Ausonians; and it appears equally wonderful that the Cumans should have gone so far from their own town into a mountainous district. The most probable conjecture, perhaps, is, that the billows of Porsenna's power, after rolling triumphantly over Rome and Latium, broke against the firm walls of Cumae; and that the Etruscan army, forced to retreat, sustained another severe defeat near Aricia.

[3] 'Who had rushed forward,' equivalent here to 'who had been carried by their impetuosity by or past the Cumans,' *prae* being used in composition for *praeter*. Compare i. 45, near the end, *infima valle praefluit Tiberis*, 'flows past.'

[4] 'Both in the condition and the appearance of suppliants' = ***supplices et erant et videbantur.***

[5] 'Love for their hosts and for the city.'

[6] This reading, which is approved of by the learned Drakenborch, gives us Horatius as consul for the second, and Valerius for the third time. The manuscripts vary here, some good *codices* having the three names *Lucretius*, *Herminius*, and *Valerius*. The ordinary editions read *P. Lucretius inde et P. Valerius Publicola consules facti*, which omits a year. Our reading makes Livy agree with Dionysius and with the chronological list of the consuls (*fasti consulares*).

a Porsenna de reducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt; quibus cum responsum esset, missurum ad regem senatum legatos, missi confestim honoratissimus[1] quisque e Patribus: Non quin breviter reddi responsum potuerit, non recipi reges, ideo potius delectos Patrum ad eum missos, quam legatis ejus Romae daretur responsum, sed ut in perpetuum mentio ejus rei finiretur, neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis invicem animi sollicitarentur, cum ille peteret, quod contra libertatem populi Romani esset, Romani, nisi in perniciem suam faciles esse vellent,[2] negarent cui nihil negatum vellent. Non in regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate esse: ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potius quam regibus portas patefacere. Eam esse voluntatem omnium, ut, qui libertati erit[3] in illa urbe finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde si salvam esse vellet Romam, ut patiatur liberam esse orare. Rex verecundia victus, 'Quando id certum atque obstinatum est,' inquit, 'neque ego obtundam[4] saepius eadem nequicquam agendo, nec Tarquinios spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustrabor. Alium hinc, seu bello opus est seu quieto[5] exilio, quaerant locum, ne quid meam vobiscum pacem distineat.' Dictis facta amiciora adjecit: obsidum quod reliquum erat, reddidit; agrum Veientem foedere ad Janiculum icto ademptum restituit. Tarquinius, spe omni reditus incisa,[6] exulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium[7] Tusculum abiit. Romanis pax fida ita cum Porsenna fuit.

16. Consules M. Valerius, P. Postumius. Eo anno bene pugnatum cum Sabinis; consules triumpharunt. Majore

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[1] 'Who had held the highest offices;' not merely of moral worth, 'the most honoured or honourable.' To connect this sentence with the following we must understand *qui regi nunciarent.* The logical order of the words is: *Non ideo delectos Patrum missos esse, quod non breviter responsum reddi potuerit, sed ut,* &c. *Non quin,* 'not as if not.'

[2] 'Unless they wished to be easy to (to consent readily to) their own destruction'—namely, by taking back their king. *Nihil tibi negatum volo,* 'I wish never to have the reflection of having refused you anything,' very nearly equivalent, therefore, to *nihil tibi negare volo,* or *nihil tibi negari volo.*

[3] Should properly, because indirect, have been in the subjunctive, *futurus sit.*

[4] *Obtundere,* usually *aures,* 'to weary one's ears by constantly drumming the same thing into them.'

[5] So the manuscripts: the editions *quiete:* he who seeks an *exilium,* thereby gives up all thoughts of war.

[6] In the sense of *abscisa,* as not unfrequently.

[7] Compare i. 49, *fin.*

inde mole Sabini bellum parabant. Adversus eos, et ne quid simul ab Tusculo, unde etsi non apertum, suspectum tamen bellum erat, repentini periculi oreretur, P. Valerius quartum, T. Lucretius iterum consules facti. Seditio inter belli pacisque auctores orta in Sabinis aliquantum inde virium transtulit ad Romanos. Namque Attius Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romae nomen, cum pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli premeretur nec par factioni esset, ab Regillo,[1] magna clientium comitatus manu, Romam transfugit. His civitas data agerque trans Anienem: vetus Claudia tribus,[2] additis postea novis tribulibus, qui ex eo venirent agro, appellata. Appius inter Patres lectus haud ita multo post in principum dignationem pervenit. Consules infesto exercitu in agrum Sabinum profecti, cum ita vastatione, dein proelio affixissent opes hostium, ut diu nihil inde rebellionis timere possent, triumphantes Romam redierunt. P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post, Agrippa Menenio P. Postumio consulibus, moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset: de publico est datus.[3] Luxere matronae ut Brutum.

Eodem anno duae coloniae Latinae, Pometia et Cora,[4] ad Auruncos deficiunt. Cum Auruncis bellum initum; fusoque ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus fero-

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[1] *Regillum* or *Regilli*, a township in the country of the Sabines, different from the *lacus Regillus* mentioned in chap. 19; the latter is in the territory of Tusculum.

[2] There was in later times also a *nova Claudia tribus*, which likewise consisted of Sabines. The territory beyond the Anio, which is here said to have been given to the new Roman citizens, belonged to them in all probability before, for they were very near the boundary between Latium and the *ager Sabinus*.

[3] So the manuscripts; understand *sumptus*. The editions read *elatus*, 'he was buried.' Either reading is good, so far as the sense is concerned.

[4] In i. 53 it is mentioned that *Suessa Pometia* was taken from the Volscians. From the present passage, it appears that at that time a colony of Latins (probably mixed with Romans) had been settled in the town as a garrison. The same seems to have been the case with Cora, a city on the east of the Pomptine Plain, which has not been mentioned before. As those here named Aurunci are called elsewhere Volscians, we may assume that the author, whom Livy followed in this part of the history considered both tribes as belonging to the same race. The Aurunci, specially so called, recognised, in later times at least, the city of Suessa Aurunca, the modern Sessa, in the kingdom of Naples, as their capital; and this town lies far to the south of Pometia, and is separated from it by the territories of various cities and different tribes.

citer obtulerat, omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsum est. Nec magis post proelium quam in proelio caedibus temperatum est: et caesi aliquanto plures erant quam capti, et captos passim trucidaverunt. Ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, ira belli abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romae triumphatum.

17. Secuti consules, Opiter Verginius,[1] Sp. Cassius, Pometiam primo vi, deinde vineis aliisque operibus oppugnarunt. In quos Aurunci magis jam inexpiabili odio quam spe aliqua aut occasione coorti, cum plures igni quam ferro armati excucurrissent, caede incendioque cuncta complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium vulneratis et occisis, consulum quoque alterum (sed utrum, nomen auctores non adjiciunt) gravi vulnere ex equo dejectum prope interfecerunt. Romam inde male gesta re reditum; inter multos saucios consul spe incerta vitae relatus. Interjecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod vulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitui satis esset, cum ira majore belli tum viribus etiam auctis Pometiae arma illata. Et cum, vineis refectis aliaque mole belli, jam in eo esset, ut in muros evaderet miles, deditio est facta. Ceterum nihilo minus foede dedita urbe, quam si capta foret, Aurunci passim principes securi percussi, sub corona venierunt[2] coloni alii; oppidum dirutum, ager veniit. Consules magis ob iras graviter ultas, quam ob magnitudinem perfecti belli triumpharunt.

18. Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T. Lartium consules habuit. Eo anno Romae, cum per ludos ab Sabinorum juventute per lasciviam scorta raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium fuit; parvaque ex re ad rebellionem spectare res videbatur. Super belli Sabini[3] metum id quoque accesserat, quod triginta jam conjurasse populos, concitante Octavio Mamilio, satis constabat. In

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[1] So the manuscripts; the editions *Virginius*. In the same manner the name of the poet Virgil is written more correctly *Vergilius* than *Virgilius*. *Opiter* is a rare praenomen, which, according to the old grammarians, was given to a person whose father had died before his grandfather (*quorum obisset pater*).

[2] *Sub corona venire*, 'to be sold under the crown,' an ordinary expression for the sale of prisoners of war, probably because a crown was put upon them to indicate that their lives were granted to them, that they were not to be put to death.

[3] The ordinary reading is *Supra belli Latini metum;* but the thirty tribes (*triginta populi*) are the thirty Latin cities which formed a league (see i. 3, p. 20, note 1), and *super* is the necessary reading, according to good Latin, in the sense of additional, *supra* being used only of place, 'above.'

hac tantarum expectatione rerum sollicita civitate dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta. Sed nec quo anno, nec quibus consulibus,[1] quia ex factione Tarquinia essent (id quoque enim traditur), parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator creatus sit, satis constat. Apud veterrimos tamen auctores T. Lartium dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum creatos invenio. Consulares legere:[2] ita lex jubebat de dictatore creando lata. Eo magis adducor ut credam Lartium, qui consularis erat, potius quam M'. Valerium M. filium Volesi nepotem, qui nondum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consulibus appositum: qui si maxime ex ea familia legi dictatorem vellent,[3] patrem multo potius M. Valerium, spectatae virtutis et consularem virum, legissent.

Creato dictatore primum Romae, postquam praeferri secures[4] viderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto parendum. Neque enim ut in consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat, neque ullum usquam nisi in cura parendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dictator, eo magis, quod propter se creatum crediderant, metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt; quibus orantibus dictatorem senatumque, ut veniam erroris hominibus adolescentibus darent, responsum ignosci adolescentibus posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex bellis sererent.[5] Actum tamen est de pace; impetrataque foret, si, quod impensae[6] factum in bellum erat, praestare Sabini (id enim postulatum erat) in

[1] Connect this dative with *creditum sit*. For *Tarquinia* some good manuscripts have *Tarquiniana*. Either may stand; for proper names which have an adjective form may be used for the adjectives derived from them. Compare i. 47, p. 82, note 4.

[2] *Consulares* is the accusative, as appears from Livy's subsequent reasoning. In later times, the office of *magister equitum* was held usually not by a consular, but by a *vir praetorius* (a man who had been praetor). There is no instance, however, of a person's having been named dictator who had not been consul.

[3] *Si vellent—legissent* is a construction which we feel to be strange for *si voluissent;* but see *Gram.* § 345, note.

[4] This showed the distinction between the power of the dictator and that of the consuls, for the latter did not appear in public, within the city, with the axes in the *fasces*. The symbolical meaning was this—that from a sentence of a consul an appeal was permitted to the people, whereas the dictator's power was as yet absolute.

[5] *Serere*, 'to knit, to join to one another,' construed like *pendēre* with *ex*.

[6] Equivalent to *quae impensae;* the plural of *impensa*, 'expenses,' is in more common use than the singular.

animum induxissent. Bellum indictum: tacitae indutiae quietum annum tenuere.

19. Consules Ser. Sulpicius M'. Tullius; nihil dignum memoria actum. T. Aebutius deinde et C. Vetusius.[1] His consulibus Fidenae obsessae, Crustumeria capta; Praeneste ab Latinis ad Romanos descivit; nec ultra bellum Latinum, gliscens jam per aliquot annos, dilatum. A. Postumius dictator, T. Aebutius magister[2] equitum, magnis copiis peditum equitumque profecti, ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt. Et quia Tarquinios esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit quin extemplo confligerent: ergo etiam proelium aliquanto quam cetera gravius atque atrocius fuit. Non enim duces ad regendam modo consilio rem affuere, sed suismet ipsi[3] corporibus dimicantes miscuere certamina. Nec quisquam procerum ferme hac aut illa ex acie sine vulnere, praeter dictatorem Romanum, excessit. In Postumium prima in acie suos adhortantem instruentemque Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam jam aetate et viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit: ictusque ab latere, concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et ad alterum cornu[4] Aebutius, magister equitum, in Octavium Mamilium impetum dederat. Nec fefellit[5] veniens Tusculanum ducem; contra quem et ille concitat equum: tantaque vis infestis venientium hastis fuit, ut brachium Aebutio trajectum sit,

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[1] *Vetusius*, the ancient mode of writing and pronouncing what was in later times *Veturius*, is no doubt intentionally retained by Livy, to show his fidelity to the authorities. As to this exchange, frequent in the language of the ancient Romans, of the letters *r* and *s*, see *Gram.* § 60, note.

[2] This statement must, if we believe Livy's own declaration (chap. 18), that only consulars were named dictators, be doubted; for A. Postumius was neither one of the consuls of the present year, nor had he ever borne the office before. It seems more correct, therefore, to follow those annalists who, as Livy tells us in chap. 21, assigned the battle with the Latins at Lake Regillus to the third year after this.

[3] The manuscripts have *suismet ipsis corporibus*. We agree with Gronovius in reading *ipsi* for *ipsis;* because, though we can say *per me ipsum feci aliquid* for the more usual *per me ipse*, we cannot say *meis ipsis viribus feci aliquid* with the possessive pronoun. In this case it would at least have to be *ipsis viribus meis;* or here, *ipsis corporibus suis*.

[4] This might no doubt be made to depend upon *impetum dederat;* but, as the double construction with *ad* and *in* is cumbrous, it is better to take *ad* for *apud*, of place, 'on the other wing.

[5] *Aliquis fallit me*, 'any one escapes my notice;' with the participle, 'it escapes my notice that,' &c.

Mamilio pectus percussum.[1] Hunc quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepere; Aebutius cum saucio brachio tenere telum non posset, pugna excessit. Latinus dux nihil deterritus vulnere proelium ciet; et quia suos perculsos videbat, arcessit cohortem exulum Romanorum, cui Lucius, Tarquinii filius, praeerat. Ea quod majore pugnabat ira ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

20. Referentibus jam pedem ab ea parte Romanis, M. Valerius, Publicolae frater, conspicatus ferocem juvenem Tarquinium ostentantem se in prima exulum acie, domestica etiam gloria accensus, ut, cujus familiae decus ejecti reges[2] erant, ejusdem interfecti forent, subdit calcaria equo et Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit. Tarquinius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti. Valerium temere invectum in exulum aciem ex transverso quidam adortus transfigit; nec quicquam equitis vulnere equo retardato, moribundus Romanus, labentibus super corpus armis, ad terram defluxit.[3] Dictator Postumius postquam cecidisse talem virum, exules ferociter citato agmine invehi, suos perculsos cedere animadvertit, cohorti suae, quam delectam manum praesidii causa circa se habebat, dat signum,[4] ut, quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habeant. Ita metu ancipiti versi a fuga Romani in hostem, et restituta acies. Cohors dictatoris tum primum proelium iniit. Integris corporibus animisque fessos adorti exules caedunt. Ibi alia inter proceres coorta pugna. Imperator Latinus, ubi cohortem exulum a dictatore Romano prope circumventam vidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam aciem secum rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Herminius legatus conspicatus, interque eos insignem veste armisque Mamilium noscitans, tanto vi majore,[5] quam paulo ante magister equitum, cum hostium duce proelium iniit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium, et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis veruto percussus, cum victor in castra esset relatus, inter

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[1] 'Struck.' in a general sense, not 'pierced through;' so not unfrequently *percutere aliquem*, 'to wound a person.'

[2] 'The expulsion—slaughter of the kings,' a peculiar but easily explained use of the Latin participle. See *Gram.* § 404, note 3.

[3] A beautiful trope for *paulatim decidit, delapsus est*, which latter verb, however, could not be used, on account of the preceding *labentibus*. A poetical colouring is easily recognisable in the whole of the description of this battle.

[4] 'He gives the order,' orally, and so that it ran through the ranks. This kind of direction is called *signum*, as well as one given by a trumpeter.

[5] 'With greater force than the master of the horse, and indeed with so much force, that,' &c.

primam curationem expirarit. Tum ad equites dictator advolat, obtestans, ut fesso jam pedite descendant ex equis et pugnam capessant. Dicto paruere: desiliunt ex equis, provolant in primum,[1] et pro antesignanis parmas objiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies, postquam juventutis proceres aequato genere pugnae secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum impulsi Latini, perculsaque inclinavit acies. Equiti admoti equi, ut persequi hostem posset. Secuta et pedestris acies. Ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dictator praetermittens aedem Castori vovisse fertur, ac pronuntiasse militi praemia, qui primus, qui secundus castra hostium intrasset. Tantusque ardor fuit, ut eodem impetu, quo fuderant hostem, Romani castra caperent. Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est: dictator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem rediere.

21. Triennio deinde nec certa pax nec bellum fuit. Consules Q. Cloelius et T. Lartius, inde A. Sempronius et M. Minucius. His consulibus aedes Saturno dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies. A. deinde Postumius et T. Verginius consules facti. Hoc demum anno ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quosdam invenio;[2] A. Postumium, quia collega dubiae fidei fuerit, se consulatu abdicasse; dictatorem inde factum. Tanti errores implicant[3] temporum, aliter apud alios ordinatis magistratibus, ut nec qui consules, secundum quosdam,[4] nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tanta vetustate non rerum modo sed etiam auctorum digerere possis.

App. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules facti. Insignis hic annus est nuntio Tarquinii mortis. Mortuus Cumis, quo se post fractas opes Latinorum ad Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuntio erecti Patres, erecta plebes. Sed Patribus nimis luxuriosa[5] ea fuit laetitia; plebi, cui ad

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[1] We rarely find the neuter thus put for the ordinary *in primam aciem, in primum locum,* 'to the front.' Compare another instance in ii. 46. *Antesignani* were the men in the first line of infantry, because the standards (*signa*) of the cohorts and legions were carried in the second and third lines.

[2] And probably with greater correctness. See above, chap. 19, p. 122, note 2.

[3] Namely, the historian who has to describe the events of these times

[4] That is, according to some, we cannot give the succession of consuls correctly; according to others, and in general, it is difficult to fix the occurrences of each single year, though the events themselves are related.

[5] 'The joy was extravagant:' by *luxuriosa,* what is properly the consequence is made the predicate of the joy.

eam diem summa ope inservitum erat, injuriae a primoribus fieri coepere. Eodem anno Signia[1] colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum, iterum deducta est. Romae tribus una et viginti factae.[2] Aedes Mercurii dedicata est Idibus Maiis.

22. Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque pax neque bellum fuerat: nam et Volsci comparaverant auxilia, quae mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano esset: et maturavit Romanus, ne proelio uno cum Latino Volscoque contenderet. Hac ira consules in Volscum agrum legiones duxere. Volscos consilii poenam[3] non metuentes necopinata res perculit: armorum immemores obsides dant trecentos principum a Cora atque Pometia[4] liberos. Ita sine certamine inde abductae legiones. Nec ita multo post Volscis levatis metu suum rediit ingenium: rursus occultum parant bellum, Hernicis[5] in societatem armorum assumptis. Legatos quoque ad sollicitandum Latium passim dimittunt. Sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta clades Latinos ira odioque ejus, quicunque arma suaderet,

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[1] As to Signia, see i. 56, p. 93, note 3. This town and Cora (ii. 16), which was not far from it, lay in the direction of the Volscians, and were no doubt intended as military outposts against these enemies of the Romans and Latins.

[2] In chap. 16 wo were told of the bestowal of the rights of citizenship upon Appius Claudius and his Sabines, and the assignment of land to them. The change, however, in the arrangements of the popular assembly (*Comitia Centuriata*), which was rendered necessary by the creation of a new tribe, seems not to have been made till now, several years after.

[3] 'Not fearing any punishment for what they had planned (but not executed).'

[4] Taken strictly, and according to the position of the words, *a Cora otque Pometia* belongs to *principes*, and stands for *Coranorum atque Pometinorum;* but the mode of expression proceeds from the wish to indicate the places from which the hostages were taken, and therefore depends rather upon *dant*. As to the story, we refer to chap. 16. The war mentioned there against the Aurunci is identical with that here described as carried on with the Volscians. It is impossible that both could have been carried on, for (chap. 16) Pometia was almost annihilated; here it appears again as a considerable town. Livy had several ancient annalists before him, some of whom placed this event in the one year, others in the other: without himself deciding as to the true date, he repeats the same occurrence in the separate years, in order to pass over nothing which was given to him as a fact.

[5] A tribe of the same race as the Latins, and situated near them. The four cities of the Hernici—Anagnia, Alatria, Verulae, and Ferentinum—still exist, under the same names, in the States of the Church.

ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit:[1] comprehensos Volscos Romam duxere; ibi traditi consulibus, indicatumque est Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum Romanis. Relata re ad senatum, adeo fuit gratum Patribus, ut et captivorum sex milia Latinis remitterent, et de foedere, quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem ad novos magistratus rejicerent.[2] Enimvero[3] tum Latini gaudere facto, pacis auctores in ingenti gloria esse: coronam auream Jovi donum in Capitolium mittunt. Cum legatis donoque, qui captivorum remissi ad suos fuerant, magna circumfusa multitudo venit. Pergunt domos eorum apud quem quisque servierant; gratias agunt liberaliter habiti cultique in calamitate sua; inde hospitia jungunt. Nunquam alias ante publice privatimque Latinum nomen Romano imperio conjunctius fuit.

23. Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat, et civitas secum ipsa discors intestino inter Patres plebemque flagrabat odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum.[4] Fremebant se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes, domi a civibus captos et oppressos esse; tutioremque in bello quam in pace, inter hostes quam inter cives, libertatem plebis esse. Invidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus[5] se in forum projecit; obsita erat squalore vestis, foedior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti; ad hoc promissa barba et capilli efferaverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordines duxisse[6] aiebant, aliaque militiae decora vulgo miserantes eum jactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot

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[1] *Accepta clades Latinos non abstinuit*, but *non abstinuit* takes the intermediate positive signification of *incitavit eos ad.*

[2] That is, the conclusion of the matter was referred to the consuls for the next year. *Rejicere* is 'to refer' from one person to another, or 'to defer' from one time to another. The new treaty with the Latins, which was concluded chiefly for defence against the Volscians, was not settled till the third year after this. See chap. 33.

[3] *Enimvero* merely strengthening the statement: 'then *assuredly* the Latins rejoiced at their deed.'

[4] *Nexus-a-um*, 'bound,' or, in a wider sense, 'firmly restrained,' was the name given to one who, being unable to pay his debts, was handed over by the stringent law of Rome to the creditor, for the purpose of gradually extinguishing his debts by his labour. They might literally and physically be bound: but even when this was not the case, they were called *nexi*, because, till they had wrought off the debt, they were in the position of slaves to their creditor.

[5] 'With all the signs' by which he was readily known. Compare i. 37, p. 69, note 1.

[6] *Ordo* is=*manipulus*, *ordinis ductor*=*centurio*.

locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitantibus, unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, cum circumfusa turba esset prope in contionis modum, Sabino bello ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modo caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore[1] imperatum, aes alienum fecisse; id cumulatum usuris primo se agro paterno avitoque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis; postremo velut tabem pervenisse ad corpus: ductum se ab creditore non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam[2] esse. Inde ostentare tergum foedum recentibus vestigiis verberum. Ad haec visa auditaque clamor ingens oritur. Non jam foro se tumultus continet,[3] sed passim totam urbem pervadit: nexi, vincti solutique,[4] se undique in publicum proripiunt, implorant Quiritium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes. Multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo suo, qui forte Patrum in foro erant, in eam turbam inciderunt. Nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et App. Claudius, ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. In eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua deformitatemque aliam: haec se meritos[5] dicere, exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi militiam. Postulare multo minaciter magis quam suppliciter, ut senatum vocarent; curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consilii circumsistunt. Pauci admodum Patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus: ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat. Nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. Tum vero eludi atque extrahi[6] se multitudo putare; et Patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari; nec dubie ludibrio esse miserias suas. Jam prope erat ut ne consulum quidem majestas coerceret iras hominum, cum incerti morando an veniendo plus periculi

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[1] 'At a time inconvenient for him.'

[2] The workhouse of the creditor is called a 'torture house,' on account of the excessive labour and severe punishments.

[3] Most manuscripts have *sustinet*. As to *passim*, see i. 28, p. 56, note 5.

[4] That is, all debtors who had lost their liberty, and who—some in chains (*vincti*), others without bonds (*soluti*)—wrought for their creditors. We, with Sigonius and Salmasius, prefer the reading *nexi* to the vulgate *nexu;* because the *nexu soluti* (that is, those freed from restraint for debt) had no need now to implore the help of the people.

[5] 'This was what they had gained for their services.'

[6] *Multitudo extrahitur*, 'is put off with vain pretences.'

contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique tandem curia, non modo inter Patres, sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat; uno aut altero arrepto quieturos alios. Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum tutius tum facilius esse.

24. Inter haec major alius terror, Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuntio, Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire. Quae audita (adeo duas ex una civitate discordia fecerat) longe aliter Patres ac plebem affecere. Exultare gaudio plebes; ultores superbiae Patrum adesse dicere deos. Alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent;[1] cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros. Patres militarent, Patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli, penes quos praemia essent. At vero curia[2] maesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste, Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare, ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret rem publicam. Tum consul misso senatu[3] in contionem prodit. Ibi curae esse Patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi: ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte civitatis,[4] metum pro universa re publica intervenisse. Nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praevertisse quicquam;[5] nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta, arma pro patria non cepisse, neque Patribus satis decorum per metum potius, quam postmodo voluntate afflictis civium suorum fortunis consuluisse.[6]

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[1] See i. 11, p. 31, note 1.

[2] For *senatus* or *Patres*.

[3] 'After dismissing the senate:' *mittere* for *dimittere*, a very common expression for the dismissal of the senate or of a popular assembly (*contio missa est*).

[4] That is, *de parte civitatis, quamquam maxima esset*.

[5] 'Nothing could go before (or be preferred to) the war.' The proper expression is *nihil praevertitur bello;* for which passive, however, the active form may also be used intransitively, particularly in the perfect tenses. Compare the use of *revertit* for *reversus est*. The perfect infinitive here expresses rapidity or rashness, 'nothing can be forced on before the war,' for 'nothing can go before the war.'

[6] 'That it would not be honourable for the *plebs* to have taken up arms only after receiving a boon, nor becoming in the senate to have relieved the distressed circumstances of their fellow-citizens from fear rather than free-will.' *Nisi—non=tantum; non nisi* not being in Latin immediately connected, but the *non* drawn to the verb, and the clause with *nisi* usually put before the other. The perfect infinitives (*cepisse, consuluisse*) express the act as completed in this single case, whereas the present would have enunciated a general principle, 'that in all cases it was a discreditable thing,' &c.

Contioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit, ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret, quominus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret; ne quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut venderet, liberos nepotesve ejus moraretur.[1] Hoc proposito edicto, et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina; et undique ex tota urbe proripientium se ex privato, cum retinendi jus creditori non esset, concursus in forum, ut sacramento dicerent,[2] fieri. Magna ea manus fuit; neque aliorum magis in Volsco bello virtus atque opera enituit. Consul copias contra hostem educit; parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.

25. Proxima inde nocte Volsci, discordia Romana freti, si qua nocturna transitio proditiove fieri posset, temptant castra. Sensere vigiles; excitatus exercitus signo dato; concursum est ad arma. Ita frustra id inceptum Volscis fuit; reliquum noctis utrimque quieti datum. Postero die prima luce Volsci fossis repletis vallum invadunt. Jamque ab omni parte munimenta vellebantur, cum consul, quamquam cuncti undique, et nexi ante omnes, ut signum daret, clamabant, experiendi animos militum causa parumper moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo, militem avidum certaminis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsi hostes; fugientibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga caesa; eques usque ad castra pavidos egit. Mox ipsa castra legionibus circumdatis, cum Volscos inde etiam pavor expulisset, capta direptaque. Postero die ad Suessam Pometiam, quo confugerant hostes, legionibus ductis intra paucos dies oppidum capitur; captum praedae datum: inde paulum recreatus egens miles.[3] Consul cum maxima gloria sua victorem exercitum Romam reducit. Decedentem Romam Ecetranorum[4] Volscorum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt: his ex senatus consulto data pax, ager ademptus.

26. Confestim et Sabini Romanos territavere: tumultus enim fuit verius quam bellum.[5] Nocte in urbem nuntiatum

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[1] *Morari*, 'to molest,' here 'prevent from enjoying full liberty;' for children and grandchildren, as belonging to the father, fell with him into servitude when he failed to pay his debts.

[2] A peculiar phrase, *alicui sacramento dicere* (compare xxiv. 8), 'to bind one's self to any one (to the commander) by an oath of fidelity.'

[3] *Inde = eā praedā*, 'the needy soldiers refreshed themselves,' figurative for 'repaired their shattered fortunes.'

[4] Ecetra, a Volscian town, seemingly situated far in the interior of Latium, but whose exact position cannot be ascertained.

[5] Livy expresses himself in the same manner in xxi. 16 by the corresponding verbs, *cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum.*

est, exercitum Sabinum praedabundum ad Anienem amnem pervenisse; ibi passim diripi atque incendi villas. Missus extemplo eo cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat: secutus consul Servilius cum delecta peditum manu. Plerosque palantes eques circumvenit. Nec advenienti peditum agmini restitit Sabina legio: fessi cum itinere, tum populatione nocturna, magna pars in villis repleti cibo vinoque, vix fugae quod satis esset virium habuere.[1]

Nocte una audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero die, in magna jam spe undique partae pacis, legati Aurunci[2] senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volsco agro, bellum indicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo profectus erat. Cujus fama haud procul jam ab Aricia visi tanto tumultu concivit Romanos, ut nec consuli ordine Patres,[3] nec pacatum responsum arma inferentibus arma ipsi capientes dare possent. Ariciam infesto agmine itur; nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa collata, proelioque uno debellatum est.

27. Fusis Auruncis, victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatus expectabat, cum Appius et insita superbia animo, et ut collegae vanam faceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat, jus de creditis pecuniis dicere.[4] Deinceps[5] et qui ante nexi fuerant, creditoribus tradebantur, et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui[6] militi inciderat, collegam appellabat; concursus ad Servilium fiebat; illius promissa jactabant, illi[7] exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant ut aut referret ad senatum, aut ut auxilio esset consul civibus suis, imperator militibus.[8] Movebant consulem haec; sed tergiversari res cogebat: adeo in alteram causam non collega solum praeceps ierat,[9] sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita

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[1] 'They had scarcely as much strength as sufficed for flight.'

[2] See ii. 16, p. 119, note 4.

[3] 'The senators could not be asked their opinions in order.'

[4] *Dicere*, historical infinitive for *dicebat*, dependant on *cum*. This construction of the historical infinitive with a conjunction is rare, but occurs sometimes in Livy and Tacitus. Gram § 390, note.

[5] 'Successively, one after the other,' not = *deinde*.

[6] *Cui* for *alicui*, the *ali* being dropped after the conjunction. As to this sense of *appellare*, see i. 40, p. 72, note 4.

[7] As to this emphatic use of *ille*, see Zumpt, § 702.

[8] The same man who, as a civilian, is *consul*, is in military matters *imperator*.

[9] Most of the manuscripts have *praeceperat*, which admits of no satisfactory explanation. *Praeceps ierat* is a conjecture, with the sense, 'had plunged headlong (regardless of consequences) into the

medium se gerendo nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud Patres gratiam iniit. Patres mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem: brevique apparuit aequasse[1] eum Appii odium. Certamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercurii aedem.[2] Senatus a se rem ad populum rejecit: utri eorum dedicatio jussu populi data esset, eum praeesse annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, sollemnia pro pontifice jussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis dat M. Laetorio, primi pili centurioni;[3] quod facile appareret, non tam ad honorem ejus, cui curatio altior fastigio suo[4] data esset, factum, quam ad consulum ignominiam. Saevire inde utique consulum alter Patresque. Sed plebi creverant animi; et longe alia, quam primo instituerant, via grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum senatusque auxilio, cum in jus duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu et clamore poterat; neque cum decresset, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque omnis et periculum,[5] cum in conspectu consulis

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opposite side (that is, the party of the creditors).' We might also suppose that Livy wrote *praecipitaverat*, this verb being often employed by him and other authors in an intransitive sense, for *se praecipitare*, 'to plunge, throw one's-self headlong.'

[1] *Aequare*, with the accusative, 'to attain or come up to something:' in the same manner the compounds *adaequare*, *exaequare*.

[2] It has been already mentioned (ii. 21, *fin*) that this temple of Mercury was consecrated on the Ides of May (that is the 7th, according to the Julian calendar). This day was afterwards kept as a festival of Mercury, and of the guild or company (*collegium*) of the merchants under his protection (*Mercuriales*). *Annona* is the yearly profit derived from any merchandise, particularly from the main article of trade—namely, grain: from this original sense comes the meaning of 'the market price,' as it rose or fell. Thus *cara*, *arta*, *gravis*, *dura annona*, 'dearness,' *moderata*, *laxa annona*, 'cheapness.' *Pro pontifice* is 'in the place of pontifex,' because the performance of this religious ceremony properly belonged to the pontifex (that is, here, the *pontifex maximus*).

[3] *Primus pilus* means, in the later organisation of the legion, the first of the ten maniples of the *triarii*. It is doubtful whether, at this early period, the legion was divided into *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*, cohorts, maniples, &c. We find this organisation in the Samnite wars, but perhaps not before. But it is clear that Livy means to designate this centurion as one of the highest rank and longest service; and it is not an uninteresting fact, that the dedication of a temple of Mercury, and the institution of a merchant's guild, which exclusively concerned the plebs, were committed to a respectable plebeian, not to a patrician magistrate.

[4] 'Higher than his rank,' *fastigium* being figuratively used of a high position in society.

[5] In most manuscripts the word *libertatis* follows *periculum*, as if the creditors had been in danger of losing their liberty; but as this

singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant. Super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; delectuque decreto nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegae, qui populari silentio[1] rem publicam proderet, et ad id, quod de credita pecunia jus non dixisset, adjiceret, ut ne delectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet. Non esse tamen desertam omnino rem publicam, neque projectum[2] consulare imperium: se unum et suae et Patrum majestatis vindicem fore. Cum circumstaret cotidiana multitudo licentia accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum jussit. Ille cum a lictoribus jam traheretur, provocavit. Nec cessisset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi judicium, nisi aegre victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum, quam populi clamore: adeo supererant animi[3] ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere inde malum in dies, non clamoribus modo apertis, sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque colloquiis. Tandem invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius Patribus mire gratus.

28. A. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum ineunt. Tum vero plebs, incerta, quales habitura consules esset, coetus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis,[4] pars in Aventino, facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret[5] consiliis et omnia temere ac fortuito ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perniciosam, ad Patres deferunt. Sed delatam[6] consulere ordine non licuit: adeo tumultuose excepta est clamoribus undique et indignatione Patrum, si, quod imperio consulari exequendum esset, invidiam ejus consules ad senatum rejicerent: profecto si essent[7] in re publica magistratus, nullum futurum

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would have gone beyond all the bounds of order and decency, we, following the excellent Florentine manuscript, consider *libertatis* as an interpolation of the copyists, and have therefore omitted it. *Verterant* at the end of the sentence is used intransitively.

[1] 'A silence favourable to the people,' or 'which betrayed his leaning towards the popular cause.'

[2] 'Thrown away;' that is, given up to contempt.

[3] *Animi*, in the plural, is sometimes (as i. 34) used of the courage and firmness of a single individual; regularly, however, of a number of subjects.

[4] See i. 44, p. 78, note 5.

[5] *Trepidare*, of a wavering, irresolute motion, when momentary impulse, not staid wisdom, forms determinations.

[6] *Consulere rem*, for *de re*, unusual; but the construction is here on the analogy of verbs of asking and requesting. See *Gram.* § 254, 2.

[7] Emphatic for *revera essent magistratus*, or *veri magistratus*. Compare the similar expression with *vir*, i. 46.

fuisse Romae nisi publicum concilium. Nunc in mille curias contionesque, cum alia in Esquiliis, alia in Aventino fiant concilia, dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam. Unum hercule virum (id enim plus esse quam consulem) qualis App. Claudius fuerit, momento temporis discussurum illos coetus fuisse. Correpti consules cum, quid ergo se facere vellent (nihil enim segnius molliusve, quam Patribus placeat, acturos) percunctarentur, decernunt ut delectum quam acerrimum habeant: otio lascivire plebem. Dimisso senatu consules in tribunal escendunt, citant nominatim juniores. Cum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in contionis modum negare, ultra decipi plebem posse: Nunquam unum militem habituros, ni praestaretur fides publica. Libertatem unicuique prius reddendam esse, quam arma danda, ut pro patria civibusque, non pro dominis pugnent. Consules, quid mandatum esset a senatu, videbant; sed eorum, qui intra parietes curiae260 ferociter loquerentur, neminem adesse invidiae suae participem:[1] et apparebat atrox cum plebe certamen. Prius itaque, quam ultima experirentur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum prope convolavere minimus quisque natu[2] Patrum, abdicare consulatum jubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

29. Utraque re[3] satis experta, tum demum consules 'Ne praedictum negetis, Patres conscripti, adest ingens seditio. Postulamus ut ii, qui maxime ignaviam increpant, assint nobis habentibus delectum. Acerrimi cujusque arbitrio, quando[4] ita placet, rem agemus.' Redeunt in tribunal; citari nominatim unum ex iis, qui in conspectu erant, dedita opera[5] jubent. Cum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne forte violaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso, tum vero indignum facinus esse clamitantes, qui Patrum consulibus aderant, devolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quam[6] prendere prohibito, cum

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[1] An admirable representation of the men who talked largely, but were inwardly conscious of the injustice of their cause.

[2] 'The youngest.' This does not, however, imply that they were absolutely young, for every senator had served as a soldier for ten or twenty years.

[3] *Utraque res* is 'both;' that is, both the hostility of the plebs and the opinion of the senate.

[4] In the sense of *quandoquidem*.

[5] 'On set purpose,' 'intentionally,' expressly one of those standing nearest.

[6] The lictor was only prevented from arresting the man, not otherwise maltreated. *Nihil aliud quam*, as elsewhere *nihil praeterquam*,

conversus in Patres impetus esset, consulum intercursu rixa sedata est; in qua tamen, sine lapide, sine telo, plus clamoris atque irarum quam injuriae[1] fuerat. Senatus tumultuose vocatus tumultuosius consulitur, quaestionem[2] postulantibus iis, qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque, non sententiis magis quam clamore et strepitu. Tandem cum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihilo plus sanitatis[3] in curia, quam in foro esse, ordine consuli coepit. Tres fuere sententiae. P. Verginius[4] rem non vulgabat: de iis tantum, qui fidem secuti P. Servilii consulis Volsco, Aurunco Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum censebat. T. Lartius non id tempus esse, ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur: totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse; nec sisti posse,[5] ni omnibus consulatur. Quin[6] si alia aliorum sit condicio, accendi magis discordiam quam sedari. App. Claudius et natura immitis, et efferatus hinc plebis odio, illinc Patrum laudibus, non miseriis, ait, sed licentia tantum concitum turbarum, et lascivire magis plebem, quam saevire. Id adeo[7] malum ex provocatione natum: quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium, ubi ad eos, qui una peccaverint,[8] provocare liceat. 'Agedum,' inquit, 'dictatorem, a quo provocatio non est, creemus. Jam hic, quo nunc omnia ardent, conticescet[9] furor. Pulset tum mihi[10] lic-

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with an ellipsis ('nothing else happened but'), for *tantum*, 'only.' See Zumpt, § 771.

[1] *Injuria* in Roman law means an actual physical injury, a verbal insult not being judicially punishable.

[2] 'A judicial examination.'

[3] 'Reason,' 'self-possession;' for in classical Latin *sanitas* is regularly used not of bodily health (*bona et integra valetudo*), but as the opposite of *insania*.

[4] Probably the T. Verginius who was consul two years before, for a P. Verginius has not as yet been mentioned as consul; and in the Roman senate consulars alone were regularly (*ordine*) the leaders of the debate. This Verginius *rem non vulgabat*, literally 'did not make the thing general;' that is, was of opinion that liberation from the *nexus* should not be extended to all without distinction.

[5] We say *sisto aliquid*, transitively, 'I keep steady, keep in existence;' passively without a subject, *sisti non potest*, 'existence cannot be maintained;' and lastly, intransitively, *respublica sistere non potest*, 'the state can exist no longer; it totters to its fall.'

[6] 'Nay, more.'

[7] *Adeo* introduces the conclusion and essential point of the speech, '*in short*, that this evil,' &c. See Zumpt, § 281.

[8] That is, to the people.

[9] Others read *conticiscet*, an exception from the formation rule of inchoatives, as to which see *Gram.* § 215. So also in chap. 55, opinions vary between *conticescente* and *conticiscente*.

[10] Compare *Praefatio*, p. 14, note 4.

torem, qui sciet jus de tergo vitaque sua penes unum illum esse, cujus majestatem violavit.'[1]

30. Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appii sententia, rursus Verginii Lartiique exemplo haud salubres, utique Lartii[2] putabant sententiam, quae totam fidem tolleret: medium maxime et moderatum utroque[3] consilium Verginii habebatur. Sed factione respectuque rerum privatarum, quae semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit; ac prope fuit, ut dictator ille idem crearetur. Quae res utique alienasset plebem periculosissimo tempore, cum Volsci Aequique et Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. Sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus Patrum, ut imperium, suo[4] vehemens, mansueto permitteretur ingenio. M.' Valerium dictatorem, Volesi filium,[5] creant. Plebes etsi adversus se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen cum provocationem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex ea familia triste nec superbum timebat. Edictum deinde a dictatore propositum confirmavit animos, Servilii fere consulis edicto conveniens. Sed et homini et potestati melius rati credi, omisso certamine nomina dedere. Quantus nunquam ante exercitus, legiones decem effectae; ternae inde datae consulibus, quattuor dictator usus. Nec jam poterat bellum differri. Aequi Latinum agrum invaserant. Oratores Latinorum ab senatu petebant, ut aut mitterent subsidium, aut se ipsos tuendorum finium causa capere arma sinerent.[6]

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[1] Should grammatically have been *violaverit*, being an inseparable part of the indirect speech.

[2] 'They thought the views of both Verginius and Lartius mischievous, on account of the example (that is, as affording dangerous precedents), particularly that of Lartius.' *Sententias* must be supplied to the first clause, out of the following *sententiam*.

[3] 'For both sides'=*in utramque partem*.

[4] 'In or from its own nature:' *ingenio* is expressed only once, but understood as double; in different cases, however—the ablative and the dative—both having the same form.

[5] Thus a brother of P. Valerius Publicola, who, along with Junius Brutus, founded the republic, and who is also (i. 58) called a son of Volesus. As to the law of Publicola, granting the right of appeal to the people, and alluded to in the next sentence, see ii. 8, *sub init.*

[6] If the old Roman annalists really made this statement, then they must have misunderstood the connection which at this time existed between the Romans and the Latins: for so far from the latter being then subjects of the former, they were not even bound to them by a league; and the treaty which is mentioned (chap. 34) as having been concluded the following year was an *aequum foedus*, a treaty as between nations on terms of equality. In chap. 53 we find the Latins successfully defending themselves against their enemies the Aequi and Volsci, without any aid from the Romans.

Tutius visum est defendi inermes Latinos, quam pati retractare arma. Vetusius consul missus est. Is finis populationibus fuit: cessere Aequi campis, locoque magis quam armis freti summis se jugis montium tutabantur. Alter consul in Volscos profectus, ne et ipse tereret tempus, vastandis maxime agris hostem ad conferenda propius castra dimicandumque acie excivit. Medio inter castra campo, ante suum quisque vallum, infestis signis constitere. Multitudine aliquantum Volsci superabant; itaque effusi et contemptim pugnam iniere. Consul Romanus nec promovit aciem, nec clamorem reddi passus, defixis pilis[1] stare suos jussit; ubi ad manum venisset hostis, tum coortos tota vi gladiis rem gerere. Volsci cursu et clamore fessi cum se velut stupentibus metu intulissent Romanis, postquam impressionem sensere ex adverso factam et ante oculos micare gladios, haud secus quam si in insidias incidissent, turbati vertunt terga; et ne ad fugam quidem satis virium fuit,[2] quia cursu in proelium ierant. Romani contra, quia principio pugnae quieti steterant, vigentes corporibus, facile adepti fessos, et castra impetu ceperunt, et castris exutum hostem Velitras persecuti uno agmine victores cum victis in urbem irrupere. Plusque ibi sanguinis, promiscua omnium generum caede, quam in ipsa dimicatione factum.[3] Paucis data venia, qui inermes in deditionem venerunt.

31. Dum haec in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi longe plurimum belli fuerat, fundit fugatque et exuit castris. Equitatu immisso mediam turbaverat hostium aciem, qua, dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum apte introrsum[4] ordinibus aciem firmaverant. Turbatos pedes invasit. Eodem impetu castra capta debellatumque est. Post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior fuit.

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[1] 'With the *pila* placed on (or, to keep them steady, perhaps stuck into) the ground,' equivalent to our military expression 'with their arms grounded.' Livy has no doubt omitted, in mentioning the orders, to give this—that as soon as the enemy was within range, the *pila* should be taken up and thrown, and then (but not till then) the soldiers should attack with their swords drawn.

[2] See the same phrase, chap. 26.

[3] *Sanguinem facere* rare for *caedem facere*. It occurs only in two other passages, ix. 13, *ibi plus, quam in acie, sanguinis ac caedis factum;* and xxxv. 51, *nondum aut indicto bello, aut ita commisso, ut strictos gladios aut sanguinem factum usquam audissent.* In *omnium generum*, 'all classes of the population,' Livy refers no doubt to the fact, that Velitrae was properly a Latin town which had been but recently taken by the Volsci, and in which Latins still dwelt along with them.

[4] 'Inwardly,' by troops placed behind each other.

Dictator triumphans urbem invehitur. Super solitos honores locus in Circo ipsi posterisque ad spectaculum[1] datus; sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus; Velitras[2] coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta.

Cum Aequis post aliquanto pugnatum est, invito quidem consule, quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes: sed milites extrahi rem criminantes, ut dictator, priusquam ipsi redirent in urbem, magistratu abiret, irritaque, sicut ante consulis, promissa ejus caderent, perpulere, ut forte temere in adversos montes agmen erigeret. Id male commissum[3] ignavia hostium in bonum vertit; qui, priusquam ad conjectum teli veniretur, obstupefacti audacia Romanorum, relictis castris, quae munitissimis tenuerant locis, in aversas valles desiluere; ubi satis praedae et victoria incruenta fuit.

Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta, de domesticarum rerum eventu nec Patribus nec plebi cura decesserat. Tanta cum gratia, tum arte praeparaverant feneratores, quae non modo plebem, sed ipsum etiam dictatorem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius, post Vetusii consulis reditum, omnium actionum[4] in senatu primam habuit pro victore populo, rettulitque, quid de nexis fieri placeret. Quae cum rejecta relatio esset, 'Non placeo,' inquit, 'concordiae auctor. Optabitis, me dius fidius,[5] propediem ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra cives meos, neque ipse frustra dictator ero. Discordiae intestinae, bellum externum fecere, ut hoc magistratu egeret res publica. Pax foris parta est, domi impeditur. Privatus potius quam dictator seditioni interero.' Ita curia egressus dictatura se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi, suam vicem[6] indignantem magistratu abisse. Itaque velut persoluta fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset,[7] quin praestaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

32. Timor inde Patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti conjurationesque fierent. Itaque quamquam per dictatorem delectus habitus esset, tamen,

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[1] According to i. 35, as much as 'a place where he might erect a seat to see from.'

[2] At the present day Velletri is a considerable town in the States of the Church, twenty-seven Roman miles south of Rome.

[3] 'This bad beginning:' *res male committitur*, 'an affair is mismanaged at the commencement.'

[4] *Actio* is sometimes used for a proposal or motion in the senate or popular assembly.

[5] Equivalent to *me hercle*. See Zumpt, § 361.

[6] Compare i. 9, p. 29, note 2.

[7] *Stat per me*, 'it is in my power,' 'rests upon me.'

quoniam in consulum verba jurassent, sacramento teneri militem rati,[1] per causam renovati ab Aequis belli educi ex urbe legiones jussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum caede, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvi,[2] Sicinio quodam auctore injussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse: trans Anienem amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum. Ea frequentior fama est, quam cujus Piso[3] auctor est, in Aventinum secessionem factam esse. Ibi sine ullo duce vallo fossaque communitis castris quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo,[4] per aliquot dies neque lacessiti neque lacessentes sese tenuere. Pavor ingens in urbe, metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebes violentiam Patrum, timere Patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti manere eam an abire mallent.[5] Quam diu autem tranquillam, quae secesserit, multitudinem fore? quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum existat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere.[6] Eam per aequa, per iniqua

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[1] From Livy's description, it appears that the dictator, by virtue of his unlimited power, had completed the levy, but had made the troops swear obedience not to himself, but to the consuls of the year. We must take it so, though it seem strange: we read a little above, however, that the dictator had not, as usual, named a *magister equitum*, but had intrusted the command of two armies to the consuls. It seems probable, therefore, that he was appointed solely for the purpose of holding the levy.

[2] *Religio exsolvitur*, 'the obligation is cancelled,' can be said equally well with *religione exsolvor*. The accusative with the infinitive after *dicitur* occurs sometimes, though but rarely. See *Gram.* § 247, and Zumpt, § 607, note. It can be explained here, where there are two clauses, by supplying the active form *dicunt* out of the preceding passive *dicitur*.

[3] One of the oldest Roman annalists, who was also a distinguished statesman, tribune of the plebs in 149, and consul in 133 B.C. He was surnamed *Frugi*, and has been mentioned by Livy before this in i. 58, *prope fin.*

[4] The moderation of the plebeians is worthy of immortal praise; but it should not be forgotten that near Mons Sacer, beyond the Anio, was situated the property of the *Tribus Claudia* (see ii. 16), and that that tribe, hostile to, and bitterly hated by the plebs, had to bear the greater part of the burden of their support. The violence of the plebeians in taking corn by force is sarcastically alluded to by Coriolanus in the senate, chap. 34.

[5] The fathers were not sure themselves whether it would be more advantageous to them that the plebeians still in the city should secede or remain.

[6] The infinitives are of different kinds, some of them belonging to the *oratio obliqua*, and *ducere* being an historical infinitive.

reconciliandam civitati esse. Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde[1] oriundus erat, plebi carum. Is intromissus in castra, prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc omnia in unum consentiant,[2] sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes, sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui, conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hac ira, dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse, ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas maturum, confecto cibo, sanguinem. Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in Patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

33. Agi dein de concordia coeptum, concessumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui Patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Hi tres collegas sibi creaverunt. In his Sicinium fuisse, seditionis auctorem; de duobus, qui fuerint, minus convenit. Sunt qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant,[3] ibique sacratam legem latam.

Per secessionem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumus Cominius consulatum inierunt. His consulibus cum Latinis populis ictum foedus. Ad id feriendum consul alter Romae mansit; alter ad Volscum bellum missus Antiates Volscos[4] fundit

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[1] That is, *ex ea*—namely, *plebe;* as above, chap. 2, *unde* for *a quo.*

[2] Here we have a contracted construction, for properly and fully it should have been *quo non, ut nunc consentiant, omnia in unum consenserint.* The ordinary reading (Drakenborch's), *consentiebant—fuerat* is contrary to the authority of the manuscripts, and, so far as *fuerat* is concerned, bad Latin.

[3] The discrepancy between the statements of the various annalists may be got over by supposing that two tribunes were formally elected by the people, and that these two chose three colleagues according to their own free selection, not by a vote of the people. It is not till several years after this that we find five tribunes chosen by the *plebs* themselves in the *comitia tributa* (see chap. 58). A *lex sacrata* is one in which, as a penalty for breaking it, the transgressor's person and fortune are devoted to the gods.

[4] Antium, on the sea, belonged to the Volscians, as we see here, and was their frontier town on the north.

fugatque; compulsos in oppidum Longulam persecutus moenibus potitur. Inde protinus Poluscam, item Volscorum, cepit, tum magna vi adortus est Coriolos.[1] Erat tum in castris inter primores juvenum C. Marcius, adolescens et consilio et manu promptus, cui cognomen postea Coriolano fuit. Cum subito exercitum Romanum Coriolos obsidentem atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum sine ullo metu extrinsecus imminentis belli, Volscae legiones profectae ab Antio invasissent, eodemque tempore ex oppido erupissent hostes, forte in statione Marcius fuit. Is cum delecta militum manu non modo impetum erumpentium rettudit, sed per patentem portam ferox irrupit; caedeque in proxima urbis[2] facta, ignem temere abreptum imminentibus muro aedificiis injecit. Clamor inde oppidanorum, mixtus muliebri puerilique ploratu, ad terrorem, ut solet, primum ortus et Romanis auxit animum et turbavit Volscos, utpote capta urbe, cui ad ferendam opem venerant. Ita fusi Volsci Antiates, Corioli oppidum captum. Tantumque sua laude obstitit famae consulis Marcius, ut nisi foedus cum Latinis columna aenea insculptum monumento esset, ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega afuerat, ictum, Postumum Cominium bellum gessisse cum Volscis memoria cessisset.

Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni vita pariter Patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium, legato Patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis Romanae in urbem, sumptus funeri defuit. Extulit eum plebs sextantibus collatis in capita.[3]

34. Consules deinde T. Geganius, P. Minucius facti. Eo anno cum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo gravius malum civitatem invasit, caritas primum annonae ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis clausis[4] solet. Ventumque

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[1] This city, as well as the smaller places of Longula and Polusca, disappeared in the wars here described; so much so, indeed, that in after-times its site could not be pointed out with certainty. Livy, in iii. 71, mentions a quarrel which had arisen between the inhabitants of Aricia and Ardea regarding the territory of Corioli.

[2] The accusative *in proxima urbis* is remarkable; and we might prefer reading *in proxima urbis parte*, or *in proximo urbis*. But as the reading of the manuscripts is incontrovertible, we must take *caedem facere* in the sense of *caedem ferre*, 'to advance with slaughter and destruction.'

[3] The *plebs* buried him (that is, paid the funeral expenses) by a contribution of one-sixth of an *as* (two *unciae*) laid upon each person (head).

[4] 'To persons besieged,' or 'during a siege.'

ad interitum servitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules providissent, dimissis passim ad frumentum coëmendum, non in Etruriam modo dextris ab Ostia litoribus, laevoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quaesitum[1] in Siciliam quoque: adeo finitimorum odia longinquis coegerant indigere auxiliis. Frumentum Cumis cum coemptum esset, naves pro bonis Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui heres erat, retentae sunt. In Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem potuit: periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis frumentatoribus fuit. Ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi venit: eo sustentata[2] est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam artis commeatibus vexati forent, ni Volscos jam moventes arma pestilentia ingens invasisset. Ea clade conterritis hostium animis, ut etiam ubi ea remisisset, terrore aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani, et Norbae[3] in montes novam coloniam, quae arx in Pomptino esset, miserunt.

M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consulibus magna vis frumenti ex Sicilia advecta; agitatumque in senatu, quanti plebi daretur. Multi venisse tempus premendae plebis putabant, recuperandique jura, quae extorta secessione ac vi Patribus essent. In primis Marcius Coriolanus, hostis tribuniciae potestatis, 'Si annonam,'[4] inquit, 'veterem volunt, jus pristinum reddant Patribus. Cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem video, sub jugum missus, tamquam ab latronibus redemptus? Egone has indignitates diutius patiar, quam necesse est? Tarquinium regem qui non tulerim, Sicinium feram? Secedat nunc, avocet plebem: patet via in Sacrum montem aliosque colles. Rapiant frumenta ex agris nostris, quemadmodum tertio anno rapuere. Fruantur[5] annona, quam furore suo fecere. Audeo dicere[6] hoc malo domitos ipsos potius cultores agrorum

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[1] 'To seek (namely, corn).'

[2] Some good manuscripts read *sustenta*, which is sometimes, though more rarely than the frequentative, used for 'sustaining life.'

[3] Now Norma, in the southern part of the States of the Church. This is now the fourth colony which we have seen settled in the Pomptine district, Circeii, Cora, and Signia having preceded it. See i. 56, p. 92, note 7; and ii. 16, p. 119, note 4.

[4] As to this word, see ii. 27, p. 131. note 2.

[5] In some good manuscripts we find *fruantur utantur.* One of the words is certainly a gloss, and *fruantur* by itself gives a very good sense.

[6] 'I venture to say that, subdued (and brought to their senses) by this calamity, they will rather themselves be industrious agriculturists, than, by a secession in arms, prevent the fields from being tilled.'

fore, quam ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant.' Haud tam facile dictu est faciendumne fuerit,[1] quam potuisse arbitror fieri, ut condicionibus laxandi annonam et tribuniciam potestatem et omnia invitis jura imposita Patres demerent sibi.

35. Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est, et plebem ira prope armavit: Fame se jam sicut hostes peti, cibo victuque fraudari; peregrinum frumentum, quae sola alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi C. Marcio vincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Romanae satisfiat:[2] eum sibi carnificem novum exortum, qui aut mori aut servire jubeat. In exeuntem e curia impetus factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixissent.[3] Ibi ira est suppressa: se judicem quisque, se dominum vitae necisque inimici factum videbat. Contemptim primo Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias: auxilii, non poenae jus datum illi potestati, plebisque, non Patrum tribunos esse. Sed adeo infensa erat coorta plebs, ut unius poena defungendum esset Patribus. Restiterunt tamen adversa invidia,[4] usique sunt qua suis quisque, qua[5] totius ordinis viribus. Ac primo temptata res est, si dispositis clientibus, absterrendo singulos a coitionibus conciliisque, disjicere rem possent. Universi deinde processere (quicquid erat Patrum, reos diceres)[6] precibus plebem exposcentes, unum sibi civem, unum senatorem, si innocentem absolvere nollent, pro nocente donarent. Ipse cum die dicta non adesset, perseveratum in ira est. Damnatus absens in

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[1] 'Whether it should have been done;' that is, whether it would have been just and right to do it.

[2] 'Unless he received satisfaction from the excoriated backs of the Roman plebeians.' The tribunes had been instituted to protect the private plebeians from the power and cruelty of the patrician magistrates and officers, and their removal, as demanded by Coriolanus, would give up the *plebs* again to their tyrants.

[3] *Diem dicere*, a legal expression, 'to appoint a day for the trial of a person.' A popular assembly was to try him, but what comitia is doubtful. We should at once say the comitia of the *plebs* according to their tribes (*tributa*), were there any certain evidence of the existence of this assembly before 471 B.C. See Livy, ii. 56.

[4] An ablative absolute, 'though hatred stood opposite to them;' that is, though they thereby exposed themselves to the hatred of the *plebs*.

[5] *Qua—qua* for *et—et*, 'partly—partly, or one the one side—on the other,' is common in Livy. Compare, for instance, chap. 45, in which it occurs three times.

[6] We translate by the pluperfect, 'you would have called the whole of the senators accused persons:' see *Gram.* § 345, note. The protasis to be supplied to *diceres* in *si videres*.

Volscos exulatum abiit, minitans patriae hostilesque jam tum spiritus gerens.

Venientem Volsci benigni[1] excepere, benigniusque in dies colebant, quo major ira in suos eminebat, crebraeque nunc querelae, nunc minae percipiebantur. Hospitio utebatur Attii Tulli. Longe is tum princeps Volsci nominis erat, Romanisque semper infestus. Ita cum alterum vetus odium, alterum ira recens stimularet, consilia conferunt de Romano bello. Haud facile credebant plebem suam impelli posse, ut totiens infeliciter temptata arma caperent. Multis saepe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa juventute fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleto jam vetustate odio, ut recenti aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.

36. Ludi forte ex instauratione magni[2] Romae parabantur. Instaurandi haec causa fuerat. Ludis mane servum quidam pater familiae, nondum commisso spectaculo, sub furca[3] caesum medio egerat Circo. Coepti inde ludi, velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita multo post T. Latinio,[4] de plebe homini, somnium fuit. Visus Juppiter dicere,[5] sibi ludis praesultatorem displicuisse: nisi magnifice instaurarentur ii ludi, periculum urbi fore. Iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. Quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus, verecundia tamen majestatis magistratuum timorem[6] vicit, ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret.[7] Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit: filium namque intra paucos dies amisit. Cujus repentinae cladis ne causa dubia esset, aegro animi[8] eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogitare, satin magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem: majorem instare, ni eat propere ac nuntiet consulibus. Jam praesentior[9] res erat: cunctantem tamen

[1] So the best manuscripts read: the editions *benigne*. Either is good Latin.

[2] Connected with *ludi*, and a very common epithet of the *ludi Romani* in the Circus Maximus.

[3] A wooden instrument laid on the neck of a transgressor, in order to keep his arms fast, and thus render him defenceless against the blows with which his back was belaboured. The slave was 'driven over the Circus,' for the purpose, as another ancient author (Valerius Maximus) adds, of being put to death without the city.

[4] So the name is written in the manuscripts of Livy, and similarly also in Dionysius. The ecclesiastical writer Lactantius, however, who was well versed in ancient history, calls him Tib. Atinius.

[5] See i. 23, p. 48, note 3.

[6] 'His fear of the gods.'

[7] 'Be talked about, and be made a laughing-stock by the people:' *ludibrium*, anything by which we drive away care and pain.

[8] Compare i. 7, p. 25, note 4.

[9] *Praesens* is in a peculiar manner used of the operations and ac-

ac proiatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est debilitate subita. Tunc enimvero deorum ira admonuit. Fessus igitur malis praeteritis instantibusque, consilio propinquorum adhibito cum visa atque audita et obversatum totiens somno Jovem, minas irasque coelestes repraesentatas casibus suis exposuisset, consensu inde haud dubio omnium, qui aderant, in forum ad consules lectica defertur. Inde in curiam jussu consulum delatus eadem illa cum Patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrasset, ecce aliud miraculum: qui captus[1] omnibus membris delatus in curiam esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse traditum memoriae est.

37. Ludi quam amplissimi ut fierent, senatus decrevit. Ad eos ludos auctore Attio Tullo vis magna Volscorum venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullus, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit; dicit esse quae secreto agere de republica velit. Arbitris remotis 'Invitus,' inquit, 'quod sequius sit,[2] de meis civibus loquor, non tamen admissum quicquam ab iis criminatum venio, sed cautum, ne admittant. Nimio plus quam velim, nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia: multis id cladibus sensimus, quippe qui non nostro merito, sed vestra patientia incolumes simus.[3] Magna hic nunc Volscorum multitudo est; ludi sunt; spectaculo intenta civitas erit. Memini quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum juventute in hac urbe commissum sit.[4] Horret animus, ne quid inconsulte ac temere fiat. Haec nostra vestraque causa prius dicenda vobis, consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet, extemplo hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cujus facti dictive contagione praesens violer.' Haec locutus abiit. Consules cum ad Patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quam res ad praecavendum vel ex supervacuo[5]

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tivity of the Deity, here 'more visible, more evident, plainer.' So afterwards *repraesentatus* is used of that which is brought to light, exhibited by the Deity=*praesens factus*.

[1] 'Lame, or lamed,' which is the proper meaning of *debilis* and *debilitas* also.

[2] *Sequior*, neuter *sequius* (derived from *sequi*), means in Latin anything which is not so good or not so strong as something else: for example, *sequior sexus*, 'the weaker (female) sex,' here *sequius*, 'hurtful, prejudicial.'

[3] A humiliating confession from a hostile leader. The whole story serves as an introduction to great misfortunes which befell the Romans; and it is worthy of notice that here the traditional history of Rome permits itself for once to acknowledge that Rome's career of victory was not uninterrupted.

[4] See ii. 18, *init.*

[5] 'Even in a superfluous or unnecessary manner,' *ex* with the neuter of the adjective being used as a circumlocution for the adverb; for example, *ex improviso, ex insperato, ex composito.*

movit. Factoque senatus consulto, ut urbem excederent Volsci, praecones dimittuntur, qui omnes eos proficisci ante noctem juberent. Ingens pavor primo discurrentes ad suas res tollendas in hospitia perculit. Proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta: Se ut consceleratos contaminatosque ab ludis, festis diebus, coetu quodammodo hominum deorumque abactos esse.

38. Cum prope continuato agmine irent, praegressus Tullus ad caput Ferentinum,[1] ut quisque veniret, primores eorum excipiens querendo indignandoque, et eos ipsos sedulo audientes secunda irae verba,[2] et per eos multitudinem aliam in subjectum viae campum deduxit. Ibi in contionis modum orationem exorsus, 'Veteres populi Romani injurias cladesque gentis Volscorum, ut[3] omnia,' inquit, 'obliviscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, qua per nostram ignominiam ludos commisere?[4] An non sensistis triumphatum hodie de vobis esse? vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse? vestras conjuges, vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum?[5] Quid eos, qui audivere vocem praeconis, quid qui vos videre abeuntes, quid eos qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii, existimasse putatis nisi aliquod profecto nefas esse, quo, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos piaculumque merituri:[6] ideo nos ab sede piorum, coetu concilioque abigi. Quid deinde? illud non succurrit, vivere nos, quod maturarimus proficisci? si hoc[7] profectio et non fuga est. Et hanc urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis indictum est, magno eorum

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[1] The same which in i. 51, *fin.*, is called *caput aquae Ferentinae.*

[2] Words obedient or subservient to their anger, such as pleased or gratified it = *obsecundantia.*

[3] *Ut* is put after the first clause, instead of at the beginning: the order of construction is *ut veteres injurias—omnia* [*denique*] *obliviscamini.* The accusative placed first, and the connection of the conjunction *ut* with *omnia*, which sums up, give the sentence the force which we have expressed by *denique*, 'in short.'

[4] 'In which (affront) they have in a manner insulting to us commenced the games:' properly, *per nostram ignominiam* is superfluous, for the *per* expresses the manner or way, which the ablative *qua contumelia* has already indicated. But it is evident that the excitement of the auditors must increase at every repetition of the word 'insult.'

[5] 'Have been dragged (like prisoners in a triumph) before the view of the people.' Sallust says similarly, *per ora hominum incedere.*

[6] 'Should have deserved;' that is, 'rendered necessary.'

[7] According to the more usual mode of construction, this should rather have been *haec.* Compare i. 55, p. 92, note 1.

malo, qui indixere, si viri estis.' Ita et sua sponte irarum pleni et incitati domos inde digressi sunt, instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere, ut omne Volscum nomen deficeret.

39. Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum sententia lecti Attius Tullus et C. Marcius, exul Romanus, in quo aliquanto plus spei repositum. Quam spem nequaquam fefellit, ut facile appareret ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse. Circeios[1] profectus primum colonos inde Romanos expulit, liberamque eam urbem Volscis tradidit. Inde in Latinam viam transversis tramitibus transgressus Satricum, Longulam, Poluscam, Coriolos, novella[2] haec Romanis oppida ademit. Inde Lavinium recepit; tunc deinceps Corbionem, Vitelliam, Trebiam, Labicos, Pedum cepit. Postremum ad urbem a Pedo ducit, et ad fossas Cluilias[3] quinque ab urbem milia passuum castris positis, populatur inde agrum Romanum, custodibus inter populatores missis, qui patriciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi magis, sive ut discordia inde inter Patres plebemque oreretur. Quae profecto orta esset: adeo tribuni jam ferocem per se plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant: sed externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum, quamvis[4] suspectos infensosque inter se jungebat animos. Id modo non conveniebat, quod senatus consulesque nusquam alibi spem, quam in armis ponebant, plebes omnia quam bellum malebat. Sp. Nautius jam et Sex. Furius consules erant.[5] Eos recensentes legiones, praesidia per muros aliaque, in quibus stationes vigiliasque esse placuerat, loca distribuentes, multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primum seditioso clamore conterruit, deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad C. Marcium mittendis coëgit.

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[1] Circeii, a Roman colony: see i. 56, p. 93, note 3.

[2] *Novella oppida*, 'towns but recently conquered.' The word is regularly used only of young cattle, on which account some learned men have proposed to change it here into the name of a town, either *Mugillam* or *Bovillas*, according to the list of conquered cities given by Dionysius. But we find in Livy another similar case, xli. 5, *novelli Aquileienses*, 'new colonists in Aquileia.'

[3] See i. 23.

[4] An adverb; see i. 16, p. 38, note 4.

[5] Between the consuls of the year 491 B.C., mentioned in chap. 34, and those named here, Livy has omitted two sets of consuls—namely, of the year 490, Q. Sulpicius Camerinus and Sp. Larcius Flavus; and of 489, C. Julius Iulus and P. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus. The omission was probably an oversight of Livy himself, as there is no trace of a gap in the manuscripts.

Acceperunt relationem[1] Patres, postquam apparuit labare plebis animos; missique de pace ad Marcium oratores atrox responsum rettulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace: si praeda belli per otium frui velint, memorem se et civium injuriae et hospitum beneficii annisurum, ut appareat exilio sibi irritatos, non fractos animos esse. Iterum deinde iidem missi non recipiuntur in castra. Sacerdotes quoque suis insignibus velatos isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est; nihilo magis[2] quam legatos flexisse animum.

40. Tum matronae ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Volumniamque uxorem frequentes coëunt. Id publicum consilium, an muliebris timor fuerit, parum invenio. Pervicere certe, ut et Veturia, magno natu mulier, et Volumnia duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios secum in castra hostium irent, et quoniam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrimisque defenderent. Ubi ad castra ventum est nuntiatumque Coriolano, adesse ingens mulierum agmen, in primo,[3] ut qui nec publica majestate in legatis nec in sacerdotibus tanta offusa oculis animoque religione motus esset, multo obstinatior adversus lacrimas muliebres erat. Dein familiarium quidam, qui insignem maestitia inter ceteras cognoverat Veturiam, inter nurum nepotesque stantem, 'Nisi me frustrantur,' inquit, 'oculi, mater tibi conjunxque et liberi assunt' Coriolanus prope ut amens consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviae complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa 'Sine, priusquam complexum accipio, sciam,' inquit, 'ad hostem, an ad filium venerim; captiva materne in castris tuis sim. In hoc me longa vita et infelix senecta traxit, ut exulem te, deinde hostem viderem! Potuisti populari hanc terram, quae te genuit atque aluit! Non tibi, quamvis infesto animo et minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? Non, cum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit, *Intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater, conjunx liberique?* Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in libera patria mortua essem. Sed ego nihil jam pati nec tibi turpius, quam mihi miserius possum; nec ut sum miserrima, diu futura sum.[4] De his videris; quos, si

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[1] 'Accepted the proposal;' for the presiding consul *refert ad senatum*, when he brings a matter before it.

[2] 'Nothing more;' that is, 'just as little.'

[3] *In primo*, unusual for *primo*, 'at first.' Similarly *a primo* for *a principio*. *Religio offunditur animo*, religious fear pours itself over (that is, fills) the mind.'

[4] 'I can suffer nothing more, and nothing which would be more

pergis, aut immatura mors aut longa servitus manet.' Uxor deinde ac liberi amplexi; fletusque ab omni turba mulierum ortus et comploratio sui patriaeque fregere tandem virum. Complexus inde suos dimittit; ipse retro ab urbe castra movit. Abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano, invidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt, alii alio leto; apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem, usque ad senectutem vixisse eundem[1] invenio. Refert certe hanc saepe eum exacta aetate usurpasse vocem, multo miserius seni exilium esse. Non inviderunt laude sua[2] mulieribus viri Romani: adeo sine obtrectatione gloriae alienae vivebatur. Monumento quoque quod esset, templum Fortunae muliebri aedificatum dedicatumque est.[3]

Rediere deinde Volsci adjunctis Aequis in agrum Romanum. Sed Aequi Attium Tullum haud ultra tulere ducem. Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Aequine imperatorem conjuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox proelium ortum. Ibi

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disgraceful in you than unfortunate for me; and as I am very miserable, I shall not be so long;' that is, 'it is the extreme of disgrace to you and of misery to me, but I shall not endure it long.' The ordinary reading is *ut sim:* but as Veturia has just said that nothing could be more unfortunate for her, the undecided expression *ut sim* —'granting that I am'—is unsuitable; and we prefer the reading of the Florentine manuscript, which gives the indicative, *ut sum*, 'as I am.' *De his videris*, pointing to the children, 'think on these,' as to which use of the future perfect, see i. 57, p. 96, note 5.

[1] Translate thus, 'in the same state'—namely, as an *exul*, not at all the same as *eum*.

[2] So the manuscripts read, for *laudes suas;* and the construction *invideo tibi hac re*, which was used not unfrequently in the Silver Age, is explained by the sense of *invideo tibi=privo*. See *Gram.* § 296, note 2.

[3] Erected, as other writers tell us, at the fourth milestone on the *via Latina*, where the conversation took place. We do not doubt the truth of the story that the prayers of women induced the enemy to withdraw: only this is to be remarked, that the Volsci and Aequi retained for a long time possession of their conquests; so that Velitrae,—in which, as has been already several times observed, there was a Roman colony—appears henceforth as in the power of the Volsci, and the Latin town of Praeneste as under the Aequi. Further, we must notice that the cities of Circeii, Cora, Norba, and Signia, which lay more to the south, and in which we have already seen Roman-Latin colonies settled, were now in the power of the Volsci, and were not liberated and restored to their connection with Rome till after many battles. The misfortunes resulting from this Volscian invasion were felt not by Rome only, but still more severely by the Latin league. The philosophical and sensible reader will not allow himself to be misled by the boastful mention, which occurs so frequently, of the victories gained by the Romans over the Volsci and Aequi.

fortuna populi Romani duos hostium exercitus haud minus pernicioso, quam pertinaci certamine confecit.

Consules T. Sicinius et C. Aquillius. Sicinio Volsci, Aquillio Hernici (nam ii quoque in armis erant) provincia evenit.[1] Eo anno Hernici devicti; cum Volscis aequo Marte discessum est.

41. Sp. Cassius[2] deinde et Proculus Verginius consules facti. Cum Hernicis foedus ictum, agri partes duae ademptae: inde dimidium Latinis, dimidium plebi divisurus[3] consul Cassius erat. Adjiciebat huic muneri agri aliquantum, quem publicum[4] possideri a privatis criminabatur. Id multos quidem Patrum, ipsos possessores, periculo rerum suarum terrebat. Sed et publica Patribus sollicitudo inerat, largitione consulem periculosas libertati opes struere. Tum primum lex agraria[5] promulgata est, nunquam deinde usque ad hanc memoriam sine maximis motibus rerum agitata. Consul alter largitioni resistebat, auctoribus Patribus, nec

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[1] 'The Hernicians fell to him as his province:' the first instance of this expression, afterwards so common, in which *provincia* (probably a contradiction for *providentia*) has the sense of 'a matter to be attended to or looked after.' From this signification came that of the foreign country in which this official activity was exercised.

[2] This is the same Sp. Cassius who was consul for the first time in the year 502 B.C. (see Livy, ii. 17), and for the second time in 493 (see chap. 33), when he concluded the treaty with the Latins. This, therefore, was now his third consulship, and he was so fortunate in it as to gain another body of allies—namely, the Hernici—to assist the Romans against their common foes, the Aequi and Volsci. Livy is to be blamed for the omission of the notices *iterum* and *tertium*, unless these have somehow slipped out of the manuscripts.

[3] 'Intended to divide.' The statement, however, may justly be doubted, for (see chap. 22) the Hernici appear afterwards not as a powerless nation, but as equal allies of the Romans and Latins. The error in this tradition was in all probability occasioned by the circumstance, that in the treaty between the three tribes it was stipulated that all the territory which their united armies might conquer, and all the booty which they might obtain, should be equally divided; that is, a third should be given to each nation.

[4] That is, 'although it was public property, or the property of the state.' The imperfect *adjiciebat* used of an action attempted, but not completed. See *Gram.* § 335, note 2.

[5] This was the general name of any law or bill by which land belonging to the state (*ager publicus*) was handed over to private individuals, being either divided amongst Roman citizens, or assigned for the maintenance of a new colony. A proposal such as this always excited great commotions, because land of this kind had before been let out to occupants (*possessores*) either at a rent, or free. These therefore, naturally opposed a bill which would deprive them of the use of what had been legally made over to them.

omni plebe adversante, quae primo coeperat fastidire[1] munus vulgatum a civibus esse in socios, saepe deinde et Verginium consulem in contionibus velut vaticinantem audiebat, pestilens collegae munus esse; agros illos servitutem iis, qui acceperint, laturos; regno viam fieri. Quid ita[2] enim assumi socios et nomen Latinum? Quid attinuisse Hernicis, paulo ante hostibus, capti agri partem tertiam reddi, nisi ut hae gentes pro Coriolano ducem[3] Cassium habeant? Popularis jam esse dissuasor et intercessor legis agrariae coeperat. Uterque deinde consul certatim plebi indulgere. Verginius dicere passurum se assignari agros, dum ne cui nisi civi Romano assignentur. Cassius, quia in agraria largitione ambitiosus in socios eoque civibus vilior[4] erat, ut alio munere sibi reconciliaret civium animos, jubere pro Siculo frumento pecuniam acceptam retribui populo. Id vero haud secus quam praesentem[5] mercedem regni aspernata plebes: adeo propter suspicionem insitam regni, velut abundarent omnia, munera ejus in animis hominum respuebantur. Quem, ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatum necatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem auctorem ejus supplicii ferant: eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse, peculiumque[6] filii Cereri consecravisse; signum inde factum esse, et inscriptum 'Ex Cassia familia datum.' Invenio apud quosdam, idque propius fidem est, a quaestoribus[7] K. Fabio et L. Valerio diem

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[1] *Fastidire* commonly means with the accusative, 'to scorn a thing,' but here with a dependent accusative and infinitive, 'to be chagrined that.' *Vulgare=commune facere*, as above, chap. 29, p. 134, note 4. An avaricious man thinks that he is unjustly deprived of a part of whatever he has to share with another.

[2] *Quid ita*, 'why, or how so?' is often used in the direct speech for *cur*, and passes into the indirect with the same sense.

[3] The manuscripts have partly *ducem*, partly *duce*. Either is good enough, but as the Latins and Hernicians have not had Coriolanus as a leader, *ducem Cassium* appears the preferable reading, and *pro Coriolano* must be taken thus, 'instead of a Coriolanus.'

[4] 'Courteous to the allies, and therefore less regarded among the citizens:' *ambitiosus*, properly, 'favour-seeking.' *Siculum*, 'bought in Sicily.' See chap. 34.

[5] 'Paid down,' as *repraesentare pecuniam*, 'to pay ready money.'

[6] This was the name given to the fortune of a child so long as it remained in the power (*in potestate*) of the father; that is to say, in ordinary cases, so long as the father lived; for unless a child was formally emancipated — as happened, for instance, to a daughter when she married—it remained subject to its father so long as he lived. This was the case even when a son obtained a high office in the state.

[7] *Quaestores* here are in all probability the same who are elsewhere called *Quaesitores*, commissioners appointed to investigate a crime. As to *perduellio*, see i. 26, p. 52, note 5: high treason against the republic, however, is properly called *crimen majestatis*.

dictam perduellionis, damnatumque populi judicio, dirutas publice aedes. Ea est area ante Telluris aedem. Ceterum sive illud domesticum, sive publicum fuit judicium, damnatur Ser. Cornelio, Q. Fabio consulibus.

42. Haud diuturna ira populi in Cassium fuit. Dulcedo agrariae legis ipsa per se, dempto auctore, subibat animos; accensaque ea cupiditas est malignitate[1] Patrum, qui devictis eo anno Volscis Aequisque militem praeda fraudavere: quicquid captum ex hostibus est, vendidit Fabius consul ac redegit in publicum.

Invisum erat Fabium nomen plebi propter novissimum consulem: tenuere tamen Patres, ut cum L. Aemilio K. Fabius consul crearetur. Eo infestior facta plebes seditione domestica bellum externum excivit; bello deinde civiles discordiae intermissae. Uno animo Patres ac plebs rebellantes Volscos et Aequos duce Aemilio prospera pugna vicere. Plus tamen hostium fuga quam proelium absumpsit: adeo pertinaciter fusos insecuti sunt equites. Castoris aedes eodem anno Idibus Quintilibus dedicata est. Vota erat Latino bello, Postumio dictatore:[2] filius ejus duumvir ad id ipsum creatus dedicavit.

Sollicitati et eo anno sunt dulcedine agrariae legis animi plebis. Tribuni plebis popularem potestatem lege populari celebrabant;[3] Patres satis superque gratuiti favoris in multitudine[4] credentes esse, largitiones temeritatisque invitamenta horrebant. Acerrimi Patribus duces ad resistendum consules fuere. Ea igitur pars rei publicae vicit, nec in praesens modo, sed in venientem etiam annum M. Fabium, Kaesonis fratrem, et magis invisum alterum plebi accusatione Sp. Cassii L. Valerium consules dedit.

Certatum eo quoque anno cum tribunis est. Vana lex vanique legis auctores jactando irritum manus facti.[5] Fabium inde nomen ingens post tres continuos consulatus, unoque

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[1] 'Stinginess,' opposed to *benignitas*.

[2] See chap. 20. This temple was at the side of the Forum, and frequently served in after-times as a curia for the meetings of the senate.

[3] 'They brought into note.'

[4] 'That the tribunes had more than enough of gratuitous favour among the multitude:' *gratuitus*, 'what is given freely, without payment, or hope of payment.' Compare i. 47. The ordinary reading is *furoris* instead of *favoris;* but the historian has not been speaking previously of an outbreak of *furor* among the *plebs*, and *favoris* is the reading of the best manuscripts.

[5] 'The proposers of the bill (the tribunes) lost their credit by speaking much (*jactando*) about a gift which, after all, came to nothing.

velut tenore omnes expertos[1] tribuniciis certaminibus, habitum. Itaque ut bene locatus, mansit in ea familia aliquamdiu honos. Bellum inde Veiens initum, et Volsci rebellarunt. Sed ad bella externa prope supererant vires; abutebanturque iis inter semet ipsos certando. Accessere ad aegras jam omnium mentes prodigia coelestia, prope cotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas. Motique ira numinis causam nullam aliam vates canebant, publice privatimque, nunc extis, nunc per aves consulti,[2] quam haud rite sacra fieri. Qui terrores tamen eo evasere, ut Oppia, virgo Vestalis, damnata incesti[3] poenas dederit.

43. Q. Fabius[4] inde et C. Julius consules facti. Eo anno non segnior discordia domi, et bellum foris atrocius fuit. Ab Aequis arma sumpta; Veientes agrum quoque Romanorum populantes inierunt. Quorum bellorum crescente cura K. Fabius et Sp. Furius consules fiunt. Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Aequi oppugnabant; Veientes pleni jam populationum Romam ipsam se oppugnaturos minabantur. Qui terrores cum compescere deberent, auxere insuper animos plebis; redibatque non sua sponte plebi mos detrectandi militiam, sed Sp. Licinius,[5] tribunus plebis, venisse tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariae Patribus injungendae, susceperat rem militarem impediendam. Ceterum tota invidia tribuniciae potestatis versa in auctorem est; nec in eum consules acrius, quam ipsius ejus collegae coorti sunt; auxilioque eorum delectum consules habent. Ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur: ducendus Fabio in Aequos, in Veientes Furio datur. Et in Veientibus quidem nihil dignum memoria gestum est: Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum civibus, quam cum hostibus fuit. Unus ille vir ipse consul rem publicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio

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[1] Passively, 'tried'=*spectatos*. See i. 17, p. 39, note 2.

[2] Belongs to *numinis*, 'after the deity has been consulted.'

[3] That is, *violatae virginitatis*. See i. 20, *vestales virginitate venerabiles ac sanctas fecit.*

[4] Q. Fabius is consul this year for the second time; Livy, however, has forgotten here, and in the following years, to put the *iterum*. This is the more to be lamented, because here we have a case unique in the history of Rome, of three brothers—Quintus, Kaeso, and Marcus Fabius—completing in regular succession, without the interval of even a year, two consulships each. The series is concluded by the third consulship of Kaeso. Thus for seven consecutive years we have consuls not of the same family merely, but brothers; for that Quintus was a brother appears from chap. 47.

[5] Dionysius calls him *Icilius*, and in fact this appears to be correct; for the praenomen *Spurius* does not occur among the Licinii, but is common among the Icilii.

consulis, quantum in se[1] fuit, prodebat. Nam cum consul praeter ceteras imperatorias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita instruxisset aciem, ut solo equitatu emisso exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit. Nec illos, et si[2] non adhortatio invisi ducis, suum saltem flagitium et publicum in praesentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum accelerare aut, si aliud nihil, instare[3] instructos. Injussu signa referunt, maestique (crederes victos), execrantes nunc imperatorem nunc navatam ab equite operam, redeunt in castra. Nec huic tam pestilenti exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quaesita sunt: adeo excellentibus ingeniis citius defuerit ars, qua civem regant, quam qua hostem superent. Consul Romam rediit non tam belli gloria aucta, quam irritato exacerbatoque in se militum odio. Obtinuere tamen Patres, ut in Fabia gente consulatus maneret. M. Fabium consulem creant; Fabio collega Cn. Manlius datur.

44. Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariae habuit. Ti. Pontificius fuit. Is eandem viam, velut processisset[4] Sp. Licinio, ingressus delectum paulisper impediit. Perturbatis iterum Patribus, App. Claudius victam tribuniciam potestatem dicere priore anno, in praesentia re, exemplo in perpetuum, quando inventum sit suis ipsam viribus dissolvi. Neque enim unquam defuturum, qui et ex collega victoriam sibi et gratiam melioris partis bono publico velit quaesitam.[5] Et plures, si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore, et unum vel adversus omnes satis esse. Darent modo et consules et primores Patrum operam ut, si minus omnes,[6] aliquos tamen ex tribunis rei publicae ac senatui conciliarent. Praeceptis Appii moniti Patres et

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[1] *In se* is, strictly speaking, incorrect, and should have been *in eo*, *in illo*, or *in ipso*. But see Zumpt, § 550, *prope fin.* The reason is, that *prodebat* implies this sense, *quantum in se esset, prodere studebat.*

[2] 'Although not:' *et* might have been omitted, but it does not encumber the construction.

[3] If the Roman soldiers had remained steady in their close array, the enemy would have been frightened; and thus standing still would have been as good as an attack. This is the force of *instare*, 'to press on.' The correction of Muretus, *stare*, is therefore unnecessary. As to *crederes* in the next sentence, compare ii. 35, p. 142, note 6.

[4] *Aliqua res procedit*, 'an affair is going forward prosperously,' is common; the verb used absolutely, as here, *procedit*, 'it prospers' = *contingit*, is not quite rare.

[5] Equivalent to *velit sibi quaerere.* See *Gram.* § 380, note 2.

[6] Equivalent to *si non omnes.* See Zumpt, § 343, *fin.*

universi comiter ac benigne tribunos appellare; et consulares, ut cuique eorum privatim aliquid juris adversus singulos erat, partim gratia, partim auctoritate obtinuere, ut tribuniciae potestatis vires salubres vellent rei publicae esse. Quattuorque tribunorum adversus unum moratorem publici commodi auxilio delectum consules habent. Inde ad Veiens bellum profecti, quo undique ex Etruria auxilia convenerant, non tam Veientium gratia concitata, quam quod in spem ventum erat discordia intestina dissolvi rem Romanam posse. Principesque in omnium Etruriae populorum conciliis fremebant, aeternas opes esse Romanas, nisi inter semet ipsi seditionibus saeviant. Id unum venenum, eam labem civitatibus opulentis repertam, ut magna imperia mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum[1] id malum, partim Patrum consiliis, partim patientia plebis, jam ad extrema venisse. Duas civitates ex una factas; suos cuique parti magistratus, suas leges esse. Primum in delectibus saevire[2] solitos; eosdem in bello tamen paruisse ducibus. Qualicunque urbis statu, manente disciplina militari sisti potuisse.[3] Jam non parendi magistratibus morem in castra quoque Romanum militem sequi. Proximo bello in ipsa acie, in ipso certamine, consensu exercitus traditam ultro victoriam victis Aequis, signa deserta, imperatorem in acie relictum, injussu in castra reditum. Profecto, si instetur, suo milite vinci Romam posse. Nihil aliud opus esse, quam indici ostendique bellum: cetera sua sponte fata et deos gesturos. Ea spes Etruscos armaverat, multis invicem casibus victos victoresque.

45. Consules quoque Romani nihil praeterea aliud quam suas vires, sua arma horrebant; memoria pessimi proximo bello exempli terrebat, ne rem committerent eo,[4] ubi duae simul acies timendae essent. Itaque castris se tenebant, tam ancipiti periculo aversi:[5] diem tempusque forsitan ipsum leniturum iras, sanitatemque[6] animis allaturum. Veiens hostis Etruscique eo magis praepropere agere; lacessere ad pugnam, primo obequitando castris provocandoque, postremo ut nihil movebant, qua consules ipsos, qua exer-

[1] 'Kept down or off,' *sustentare* having two significations—'to maintain, keep up' a good thing; and 'to retard, keep down' a bad thing.

[2] *Saevire* means frequently, especially in the comic writers, 'to speak angrily;' and this is the sense here, for the reference is not to cruel or wild actions.

[3] See ii. 29.

[4] Equivalent to *in eum locum*, 'into such a situation.'

[5] *Scil. a pugna committenda*, 'being deterred from joining battle by the double danger.'

[6] See ii. 29, p. 134, note 3.

citum increpando: simulationem intestinae discordiae remedium timoris[1] inventum; et consules magis non confidere, quam non credere suis militibus.[2] Novum seditionis genus, silentium otiumque inter armatos. Ad haec in novitatem generis originisque, qua falsa, qua vera jacere.[3] Haec cum sub ipso vallo portisque streperent, haud aegre consules pati. At imperitae multitudini nunc indignatio, nunc pudor pectora versare et ab intestinis avertere malis: nolle inultos hostes, nolle successum,[4] non Patribus, non consulibus; externa et domestica odia certare in animis. Tandem superant externa: adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frequentes in praetorium conveniunt, poscunt pugnam, postulant ut signum detur. Consules velut deliberabundi capita conferunt, diu colloquuntur. Pugnare cupiebant; sed retro revocanda et abdenda cupiditas erat, ut adversando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent impetum. Redditur responsum, immaturam rem agi, nondum tempus pugnae esse: castris se tenerent. Edicunt inde, ut abstineant pugna: si quis injussu pugnaverit, ut in hostem animadversuros. Ita dimissis, quo minus consules velle credunt, crescit ardor pugnandi. Accedunt insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisse non pugnare consules cognitum est: quippe impune se insultaturos, non credi militi arma, rem ad ultimum seditionis erupturam, finemque venisse Romano imperio. His freti occursant portis, ingerunt probra, aegre abstinent quin castra oppugnent. Enimvero non ultra contumeliam pati Romanus posse: totis castris undique ad consules curritur. Non jam sensim, ut ante, per centurionum principes postulant, sed passim omnes clamoribus agunt. Matura res erat; tergiversantur tamen. Fabius deinde, ad crescentem tumultum jam metu seditionis collega concedente, cum silentium classico fecisset, 'Ego istos, Cn. Manli, posse vincere scio; velle ne scirem, ipsi fecerunt. Itaque certum atque decretum est, non dare signum, nisi victores se redituros ex hac pugna jurant. Consulem Romanum miles semel in acie fefellit; deos nunquam fallet.' Centurio erat M. Flavoleius, inter primores pugnae flagitator. 'Victor,' inquit, 'M. Fabi, revertar ex acie.' Si fallat, Jovem patrem Gradivumque Martem alios-

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[1] That is, 'a means of not being counted cowards.'

[2] *Confidere*, 'to place confidence in,' refers to the valour of the soldiers; *credere*, 'to trust,' to their willingness to fight.

[3] The Etruscans are proud of their antiquity, and reproach the Romans with the newness of their state.

[4] Participle passive from the impersonal *succedit mihi*; 'they were unwilling that matters should go well for the senate and consuls.'

que iratos[1] invocat deos. Idem deinceps omnis exercitus in se quisque jurat: juratis datur signum. Arma capiunt; eunt in pugnam irarum speique pleni. Nunc jubent Etruscos probra jacere, nunc armatis sibi quisque lingua promptum hostem offerri. Omnium illo die, qua plebis, qua Patrum, eximia virtus fuit. Fabium nomen, Fabia gens maxime enituit. Multis civilibus certaminibus infensos plebis animos illa pugna sibi reconciliare statuunt. Instruitur acies; nec Veiens hostis Etruscaeque legiones detrectant.

46. Prope certa spes erat non magis secum pugnaturos, quam pugnaverint[2] cum Aequis; majus quoque aliquod in tam irritatis animis et occasione ancipiti haud desperandum esse facinus. Res aliter longe evenit. Nam non alio ante bello infestior Romanus (adeo hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules mora exacerbaverant) proelium iniit. Vix explicandi ordines spatium Etruscis fuit, cum pilis inter primam trepidationem abjectis temere magis quam emissis, pugna jam in manus, jam ad gladios, ubi Mars est atrocissimus, venerat. Inter primores genus Fabium[3] insigne spectaculo exemploque civibus erat. Ex his Q. Fabium (tertio hic anno ante consul fuerat) principem in confertos Veientes euntem ferox viribus et armorum arte Tuscus, incautum inter multas versantem hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit. Telo extracto praeceps Fabius in vulnus abiit.[4] Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebatque inde Romanus, cum M. Fabius consul transiluit jacentis corpus, objectaque parma 'Hoc jurastis,' inquit, 'milites, fugientes vos in castra redituros? Adeo ignavissimos hostes magis timetis, quam Jovem Martemque, per quos jurastis? At ego injuratus aut victor revertar, aut prope te hic, Q. Fabi, dimicans cadam.' Consuli tum K. Fabius, prioris anni consul, 'Verbisne istis, frater, ut pugnent te impetraturum credis? Dii impetrabunt, per quos juravere. Et nos, ut decet proceres, ut Fabio nomine est dignum, pugnando potius

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[1] That is, *ut sibi irati sint: iram deorum invocat.*

[2] Properly *pugnassent;* but, as in the direct speech, the perfect indicative would have been used, Livy retains the same tense in the indirect, putting it of course in the subjunctive. According to strict grammar, this verb should have been subjected, in regard to its tense, to the imperfect (*erat*) in the leading clause.

[3] Equivalent to *Gens Fabia*, perhaps with this distinction, that *gens* refers merely to the patricians, whereas *genus* includes also the humbler families of the same name attached to the great house, freedmen and their descendants.

[4] 'He fell forward upon the wound:' *abiit=ivit*, and *ire* in such expressions=*labi, cadere, ruere.*

quam adhortando accendamus militum animos.' Sic in primum[1] infestis hastis provolant duo Fabii, totamque moverunt secum aciem.

47. Proelio ex parte una restituto, nihilo segnius in cornu altero Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat; ubi prope similis fortuna est versata. Nam ut altero in cornu Q. Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium jam velut fusos agentem hostes et impigre milites secuti sunt, et ut ille gravi vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfectum rati gradum rettulere: cessissentque loco, ni consul alter cum aliquot turmis equitum in eam partem citato equo advectus, vivere clamitans collegam, se victorem fuso altero cornu adesse, rem inclinatam sustinuisset. Manlius quoque ad restituendam aciem se ipse coram offert. Duorum consulum cognita ora accendunt militum animos. Simul et vanior[2] jam erat hostium acies, dum abundante multitudine freti subtracta subsidia mittunt ad castra oppugnanda. In quae haud magno certamine impetu facto, dum praedae magis quam pugnae memores terunt tempus, triarii Romani, qui primam irruptionem sustinere non potuerant, missis ad consules nuntiis, quo loco res essent, conglobati ad praetorium redeunt, et sua sponte ipsi proelium renovant.[3] Et Manlius consul revectus in castra, ad omnes portas milite opposito, hostibus viam clauserat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis quam audaciam accendit. Nam cum incursantes, quacunque exitum ostenderet spes, vano aliquotiens impetu issent, globus juvenum unus in ipsum consulem insignem armis invadit. Prima excepta a circumstantibus tela; sustineri deinde vis nequit: consul mortifero vulnere ictus cadit, fusique circa omnes. Tuscis crescit audacia; Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos agit: et ad extrema ventum foret, ni legati, rapto consulis corpore, patefecissent una porta hostibus viam. Ea erumpunt; consternatoque agmine abeuntes in victorem alterum incidunt consulem. Ibi iterum caesi fusique passim.

Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus tam claris funeribus. Itaque consul, decernente senatu triumphum, si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare possit, pro eximia eo

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[1] See ii. 20, p. 124, note 1.

[2] 'Thinner, full of gaps' (*rarior*), opposed to a *densa acies*.

[3] The Roman *triarii*, who had been left behind to guard the camp, had at first been forced to give way to the attack of the enemy, but afterwards collected in the middle of the camp, and renewed the battle; at the same time sending messengers to the consul to ask assistance.

bello opera facile passurum respondit: se, familia funesta[1] Q. Fabii fratris morte, re publica ex parte orba consule altero amisso, publico privatoque deformem luctu lauream non accepturum. Omni acto triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit: adeo spreta in tempore gloria interdum cumulatior redit. Funera deinde duo deinceps collegae fratrisque ducit, idem in utroque laudator, cum concedendo illis suas laudes ipse maximam partem earum ferret. Neque immemor ejus, quod initio consulatus imbiberat,[2] reconciliandi animos plebis, saucios milites curandos dividit Patribus. Fabiis plurimi dati, nec alibi majore cura habiti. Inde populares jam esse Fabii, nec hoc ulla re[3] nisi salubri rei publicae arte.

48. Igitur non Patrum magis quam plebis studiis K. Fabius cum T. Verginio consul factus neque bella[4] neque delectus neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere quam ut, jam aliqua ex parte inchoata concordiae spe, primo quoque tempore cum Patribus coalescerent animi plebis. Itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam quisquam agrariae legis auctor tribunus existeret, occuparent Patres ipsi suum munus facere;[5] captivum agrum plebi quam maxime aequaliter darent: verum esse[6] habere eos, quorum sanguine ac sudore partus sit. Aspernati Patres sunt; questi quoque quidam nimia gloria luxuriare et evanescere vividum quondam illud Kaesonis ingenium. Nullae deinde urbanae factiones fuere.[7]

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[1] See ii. 8, p. 109, note 3.

[2] 'Had designed,' *apud animum constituerat.*

[3] So all the manuscripts read; most of the editions omit *re.*

[4] If *bella* be the correct reading, then we must assume that Livy intended to go on thus, *neque ullam aliam rem prius curare*, but by mistake introduced *curam agere* instead of *curare.* Hearne's conjecture, *belli*, which makes *delectus* a genitive, merits approbation: similar irregularities of expression, however, occur elsewhere in Livy.

[5] 'The senate should come forward before any tribune, to make the gift (of the *ager publicus*) their own;' that is, should themselves vote the division of the lands, and thereby carry off from a tribune the credit of giving the people a present.

[6] 'Just and equitable' = *aequum.*

[7] 'After this there were no more factions in the city'—that is, immediately or for some time after this: the demands for an agrarian law, however, were ever and anon renewed by the tribunes, though without success; for the demand did not refer, as one might suppose from Livy, merely to the lands recently taken from the Hernicians, but also to the ancient royal domain, which, after the expulsion of the kings, had been taken possession of by the patricians. This property they could by no means be induced to give up, and indeed they could urge a very plausible claim to it; for this domain,

Vexabantur incursionibus Aequorum Latini: eo cum exercitu Kaeso missus in ipsorum Aequorum agrum depopulandum transit. Aequi se in oppida receperunt murisque se tenebant: eo[1] nulla pugna memorabilis fuit. At a Veiente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius consulis; actumque de exercitu foret, ni K. Fabius in tempore subsidio venisset.

Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Veientibus fuit; res proxime in formam latrocinii venerat.[2] Legionibus Romanis cedebant in urbem: ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum quiete, quietem bello invicem eludentes. Ita neque omitti tota res nec perfici poterat. Et alia bella aut praesentia instabant, ut ab Aequis Volscisque, non diutius quam recens dolor proximae cladis transiret quiescentibus; aut mox moturos se[3] apparebat Sabinos semper infestos Etruriamque omnem. Sed Veiens hostis, assiduus magis quam gravis, contumeliis saepius quam periculo animos agitabat, quod nullo tempore negligi poterat aut averti alio sinebat.[4] Tum Fabia gens senatum adiit; consul pro gente loquitur. 'Assiduo magis quam magno praesidio, ut scitis, Patres conscripti, bellum Veiens eget. Vos alia bella curate, Fabios hostes Veientibus date. Auctores sumus[5] tutam ibi majestatem Romani nominis fore. Nostrum id nobis velut familiare bellum privato sumptu gerere in animo est. Res publica et milite illic et pecunia vacet.' Gratiae ingentes actae. Consul e curia egressus comitante Fabiorum agmine, qui in vestibulo curiae senatus consultum expectantes steterant, domum redit. Jussi armati postero die ad limen consulis adesse, domos inde discedunt.

49. Manat tota urbe rumor; Fabios ad coelum laudibus

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having originally been set apart for public uses by the first citizens, before there was a *plebs* in existence, naturally returned to the patricians, the representatives of the primitive settlers.

[1] See i. 11. p. 31, note 5.

[2] 'The affair (the war) had come very nearly into (that is, had pretty nearly assumed) the form of a robbery:' the manuscripts have *in formam*, and the usage of the language is not opposed to this, though *prope* and its comparative and superlative may themselves be construed immediately with the accusative.

[3] 'It was evident that the Sabines were about to rise or bestir themselves.' Judging from the manner in which the sentence begins, we should expect to find it continued thus, *aut motum iri a Sabinis (bella) videbantur*. But the author seems to have forgotten the *bella* which he had introduced.

[4] 'This enemy did not permit the Romans to turn to any other quarter.'

[5] 'We promise, we assure you'=*praestamus:* and for this reason we have an accusative with the infinitive dependent on the phrase, instead of the genitive of a substantive or of a gerund, as usual.

ferunt: Familiam unam subisse civitatis onus; Veiens bellum in privatam curam, in privata arma versum. Si sint duae roboris ejusdem in urbe gentes, deposcant haec Volscos sibi, illa Aequos: populo Romano tranquillam pacem agente, omnes finitimos subigi populos posse. Fabii postera die arma capiunt; quo jussi erant, conveniunt. Consul paludatus egrediens in vestibulo[1] gentem omnem suam instructo agmine videt; acceptus in medium signa ferri jubet. Nunquam exercitus neque minor numero neque clarior fama et admiratione hominum per urbem incessit. Sex et trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem sperneret egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, ibant, unius familiae viribus Veienti populo pestem minitantes. Sequebatur turba propria[2] alia cognatorum sodaliumque, nihil medium, nec spem nec curam,[3] sed immensa omnia volventium animo; alia publica sollicitudine excitata, favore et admiratione stupens. Ire fortes, ire felices jubent, inceptis eventus pares reddere; consulatus inde ac triumphos, omnia praemia ab se, omnes honores sperare. Praetereuntibus Capitolium arcemque[4] et alia templa, quicquid deorum oculis, quicquid animo occurrit, precantur ut illud agmen faustum atque felix mittant, sospites brevi in patriam ad parentes restituant. Incassum missae preces. Infelici via dextro Jano portae Carmentalis[5] profecti ad Cremeram flumen[6] perveniunt: is opportunus visus locus communiendo praesidio. L. Aemilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti. Et donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis

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[1] *Vestibulum* means here 'a courtyard,' formed by two wings jutting out towards the street; the ordinary meaning of the word, however, is 'entrance-hall,' within the house-door, but without the sleeping apartments, &c.

[2] Persons privately connected with the Fabii, in opposition to the *alia turba*, afterwards mentioned, who accompanied them from other and more general motives.

[3] That is, *neque spem mediam neque curam mediam.*

[4] See i. 55. p. 91, note 2.

[5] 'Through the right-hand archway of the *porta Carmentalis;*' a gate near the south-west side of the Capitoline Hill, through which a person passed going down to the Tiber. The right archway was considered, even in Ovid's time, as unlucky, and of evil omen to him who passed out under it. See Ovid's Fasti, under the 13th of February.

[6] A rivulet which, crossing the *via Flaminia* beyond the seventh milestone from Rome, shortly afterwards falls into the Tiber. A mile further on the same road was the station of *Saxa Rubra*, so called from a peculiar kind of red stone found there. Both the rivulet and the station were on the Etruscan side of the Tiber.

erant, sed tota regione, qua Tuscus ager Romano adjacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium, vagantes per utrumque finem,[1] fecere. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit, dum et Veientes accito ex Etruria exercitu praesidium Cremerae oppugnant, et Romanae legiones ab L. Aemilio consule adductae comminus cum Etruscis dimicant acie. Quamquam vix dirigendi aciem spatium Veientibus fuit: adeo inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introëunt subsidiaque locant, invecta subito ab latere Romana equitum ala non pugnae modo incipiendae, sed consistendi ademit locum. Ita fusi retro ad Saxa Rubra (ibi castra habebant) pacem supplices petunt. Cujus impetratae, ab insita animis levitate,[2] ante deductum Cremera Romanum praesidium poenituit.

50. Rursus cum Fabiis erat Veienti populo, sine ullo majoris belli apparatu, certamen; nec erant incursiones modo in agros aut subiti impetus incursantium, sed aliquotiens aequo campo collatisque signis certatum, gensque una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissima, ut tum res erant, Etrusca civitate victoriam tulit. Id primo acerbum indignumque Veientibus est visum; inde consilium ex re natum insidiis ferocem hostem captandi. Gaudere etiam, multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. Itaque et pecora praedantibus aliquotiens, velut casu incidissent, obviam acta; et agrestium fuga vasti relicti agri; et subsidia armatorum ad arcendas populationes missa saepius simulato, quam vero pavore refugerunt. Jamque Fabii adeo contempserant hostem, ut sua invicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. Haec spes provexit, ut ad conspecta procul a Cremera magno campi intervallo pecora, quamquam rara[3] hostium apparebant arma, decurrerent. Et cum improvidi effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superassent, palatique passim vaga, ut fit pavore injecto, raperent pecora, subito ex insidiis consurgitur, et adversi et undique hostes erant. Primo clamor circumlatus exterruit, dein tela ab omni parte accidebant. Coëuntibusque Etruscis, jam continenti agmine armatorum septi, quo magis se hostis inferebat, cogebantur breviore spatio et ipsi orbem colligere. Quae res et paucitatem eorum insignem[4] et multitudinem Etruscorum, multiplicatis in arto ordinibus, faciebat. Tum omissa pugna, quam in omnes

[1] Usually the plural in this sense of 'boundary,' or 'frontier district.'

[2] 'From the innate fickleness of their minds.'

[3] 'Here and there.'

[4] 'Visible'=*conspicuam*. See i. 69, p. 69, note 1.

partes parem intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant. Eo nisi[1] corporibus armisque rupere cuneo viam. Duxit via in editum leniter collem: inde primo restitere. Mox ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit recipiendique a pavore tanto animum, pepulere etiam subeuntes; vincebatque[2] auxilio loci paucitas, ni jugo circummissus Veiens in verticem collis evasisset. Ita superior rursus hostis factus: Fabii caesi ad unum omnes, praesidiumque expugnatum. Trecentos sex perisse satis convenit, unum prope puberem aetate relictum,[3] stirpem genti Fabiae, dubiisque rebus populi Romani saepe domi bellique vel maximum futurum auxilium.

51. Cum haec accepta clades esset, jam C. Horatius et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius adversus Tuscos victoria elatos confestim missus. Tum quoque male pugnatum est, et Janiculum hostes occupavere; obsessaque urbs foret, super bellum annona premente (transierant enim Etrusci Tiberim), ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus. Adeoque id bellum ipsis institit moenibus, ut primo pugnatum ad Spei[4] sit aequo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam. Ibi quamquam parvo momento[5] superior Romana res fuit, meliorem tamen militem, recepto pristino animo, in futura proelia id certamen fecit.

A. Verginius et Sp. Servilius consules fiunt. Post acceptam proxima pugna cladem Veientes abstinuere acie. Populationes erant, et velut ab arce Janiculi[6] passim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant: non usquam pecora tuta, non agrestes erant. Capti deinde eadem arte sunt, qua ceperant Fabios. Secuti dedita opera passim ad illecebras propulsa pecora praecipitavere in insidias: quo

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[1] 'Exerting themselves vigorously with their bodies and arms to go in that direction.' *Nisi* is the perfect participle of *nitor*.

[2] 'Was already conquering,' and would finally have been victorious, if—not, &c. As to this use of the indicative for the subjunctive, see ii. 10, p. 111, note 1.

[3] According to this story, only one boy was left to represent the Fabii. His name was Q. Fabius Vibulanus, and he was afterwards consul twice. Livy follows here the common tradition; but it is, to say the least, very improbable that there were not a considerable number of sons left by the 306 adult Fabii.

[4] This temple stood in what was afterwards made the *forum olitorium* (vegetable market), at that time without the city, between the Capitoline Hill and the Tiber.

[5] 'Although the Romans were but slightly superior;' literally, 'although the Romans were superior by but a slight overweight or inclination of the scale.' See i. 47.

[6] That is, *a Janiculo velut arce.*

plures erant, major caedes fuit. Ex hac clade atrox ira majoris cladis causa atque initium fuit. Trajecto enim nocte Tiberi, castra Servilii consulis adorti sunt oppugnare: inde fusi magna caede in Janiculum se aegre recepere. Confestim consul et ipse transit Tiberim, castra sub Janiculo communit. Postero die luce orta, nonnihil et hesterna felicitate pugnae ferox, magis tamen quod inopia frumenti quamvis in praecipitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia, temere adverso Janiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit,[1] foediusque inde pulsus, quam pridie pepulerat, interventu collegae ipse exercitusque est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, cum invicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occisi.[2] Ita oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.

52. Urbi cum pace laxior etiam annona rediit, et advecto ex Campania frumento, et postquam timor sibi cuique futurae inopiae abiit, eo, quod abditum fuerat, prolato. Ex copia deinde otioque lascivire rursus animi, et pristina mala, postquam foris deerant, domi quaerere. Tribuni plebem agitare suo veneno, agraria lege; in resistentes incitare Patres, nec in universos modo, sed in singulos. Q. Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrariae legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. Invidiae erat amissum Cremerae praesidium, cum haud procul inde stativa consul habuisset. Ea[3] oppressit, cum et Patres haud minus quam pro Coriolano annisi essent, et patris Agrippae[4] favor hauddum exolevisset. In multa temperarunt[5] tribuni: cum capitis anquisissent, duo milia aeris damnato multam dixerunt. Ea in caput vertit: negant tulisse ignominiam aegritudinemque; inde morbo absumptum esse. Alius deinde reus Sp. Servilius, ut consulatu abiit, C. Nautio et P. Valerio consulibus, initio statim anni ab L. Caedicio et T. Statio tribunis die dicta, non ut Menenius, precibus suis aut Patrum, sed cum multa fiducia innocentiae gratiaeque tribunicios impetus tulit. Et huic

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[1] 'He marched up the Janiculum towards the camp of the enemy;' properly, 'whilst the Janiculum lay opposed to him.' The same might have been expressed by *adversus Janiculum.*

[2] 'They were totally annihilated,' an expression of frequent occurrence in Livy.

[3] *Ea*—namely, *invidia:* the editions, contrary to the authority of the manuscripts, read *eum oppresserunt.*

[4] See chapter 33.

[5] 'They restrained themselves,' *temperarunt sibi:* see *Gram.* § 264, note 2. *Capitis anquirere,* 'to institute a trial upon a *crimen capitis,*' in which the *caput* (the physical or civil existence) is at stake.

proelium cum Tuscis ad Janiculum erat crimini. Sed fervidi animi vir, ut in publico periculo ante, sic tum in suo, non tribunos modo sed plebem oratione feroci refutando, exprobrandoque T. Menenii damnationem mortemque, cujus patris munere restituta quondam plebs eos ipsos, quibus tum saeviret, magistratus, eas leges haberet, periculum audacia discussit. Juvit et Verginius collega, testis productus, participando laudes:[1] magis tamen Menenianum (adeo mutaverant animum) profuit judicium.

53. Certamina domi finita; Veiens bellum exortum, quibus[2] Sabini arma conjunxerant. P. Valerius consul, accitis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis, cum exercitu Veios missus castra Sabina, quae pro moenibus sociorum locata erant, confestim aggreditur; tantamque trepidationem injecit, ut, dum dispersi alii alia[3] manipulatim excurrunt ad arcendam hostium vim, ea porta, cui signa primum intulerat, caperetur. Intra vallum deinde caedes magis, quam proelium esse. Tumultus e castris et in urbem penetrat; tamquam Veiis captis, ita pavidi Veientes ad arma currunt. Pars Sabinis eunt subsidio, pars Romanos toto impetu intentos in castra adoriuntur. Paulisper aversi turbatique sunt;[4] deinde et ipsi utroque versis signis resistunt, et eques ab consule immissus Tuscos fundit fugatque. Eademque hora duo exercitus, duae potentissimae et maximae finitimae gentes superatae sunt.

Dum haec ad Veios geruntur, Volsci Aequique in Latino agro posuerant castra populatique fines erant. Eos per se ipsi Latini, assumptis Hernicis, sine Romano aut duce aut auxilio castris exuerunt: ingenti praeda praeter suas reciperatas res potiti sunt. Missus tamen ab Roma consul in Volscos C. Nautius. Mos, credo, non placebat, sine Romano duce exercituque socios propriis viribus consiliisque bella gerere.[5] Nullum genus calamitatis contumeliaeque non editum in Volscos est; nec tamen perpelli potuere, ut acie dimicarent.

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[1] 'By attributing to him a share in his praiseworthy deeds.'

[2] A *constructio ad sensum*, *Veiens* being equivalent to *Veientium*, or *cum Veientibus*.

[3] The Sabines marched out of their camp, not in one body, but in companies by different ways; and amid this confusion the Romans made themselves masters of one of the gates of the camp. *Alii alia*, supply *via*, not *porta*, for there were not so many gates in the camp.

[4] Namely, the Romans, by the attack of the Veientines in their rear.

[5] Compare chapter 30, p, 135, note 6.

54. L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Veientes provincia evenit. Non tamen bellatum: indutiae in annos quadraginta petentibus datae, frumento stipendioque[1] imperato. Paci externae confestim continuatur discordia domi. Agrariae legis tribuniciis stimulis plebs furebat. Consules nihil Menenii damnatione, nihil periculo deterriti Servilii, summa vi resistunt. Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius, tribunus plebis, arripuit.[2]

L. Aemilius et Opiter Verginius consulatum ineunt. Vopiscum[3] Julium pro Verginio in quibusdam annalibus consulem invenio. Hoc anno, quoscunque consules habuit, rei ad populum Furius et Manlius circumeunt sordidati non plebem magis quam juniores Patrum. Suadent, monent, honoribus et administratione rei publicae abstineant; consulares vero fasces, praetextam curulemque sellam nihil aliud quam pompam funeris putent: claris insignibus velut infulis velatos ad mortem destinari.[4] Quodsi consulatus tanta dulcedo sit, jam nunc ita in animum inducant, consulatum captum et oppressum ab tribunicia potestate esse; consuli, velut apparatori tribunicio, omnia ad nutum imperiumque tribuni agenda esse: si se commoverit, si respexerit Patres, si aliud quam plebem esse in re publica crediderit; exilium C. Marcii, Menenii damnationem et mortem sibi proponat ante oculos. His accensi vocibus Patres consilia inde non publica, sed in privato seductaque a plurium conscientia habere. Ubi cum id modo constaret, jure an injuria[5] eripiendos esse reos, atrocissima quaeque

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[1] *Stipendium* is the pay of soldiers, and money raised for that purpose. But the Roman soldiers did not receive pay till seventy years after this time, in the year 406 B.C. (see Livy, iv. 59). In later times, it was usual to exact a contribution of corn and money for the troops from conquered enemies, before granting them peace or a cessation of hostilities. Here *stipendium* is used for 'money' generally, the expression being taken from the custom of later times.

[2] 'He dragged them before a popular assembly for judgment;' for which reason they are afterwards called *rei ad populum.* According to Dionysius, ix. 38, the ground of accusation was this—that the ex-consuls (equally with their predecessors, however) had neglected to carry into effect the decree of the senate, which had been passed a number of years before, to the effect that the lands claimed by the *plebs* should be measured and divided.

[3] *Vopiscus*, a rare praenomen, given to a twin who survived.

[4] The ensigns of the consulship were nothing else but, as it were, the woollen veils which were wrapped round the horns of a victim led to the altar.

[5] 'Either by fair means or by foul,' *sive jure sive injuria, jure aut*

maxime placebat sententia; nec auctor quamvis audaci facinori deerat. Igitur judicii die, cum plebs in foro erecta expectatione staret, mirari primo, quod non descenderet tribunus; dein cum jam mora suspectior fieret, deterritum a primoribus credere, et desertam ac proditam causam publicam queri. Tandem qui obversati vestibulo tribuni fuerant, nuntiant domi mortuum esse inventum. Quod ubi in totam contionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii alio. Praecipuus pavor tribunos invaserat, quam nihil auxilii sacratae leges[1] haberent, morte collegae monitos. Nec Patres satis moderate ferre laetitiam: adeoque neminem noxiae[2] poenitebat, ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, palamque ferretur malo[3] domandam tribuniciam potestatem.

55. Sub hac pessimi exempli victoria[4] delectus edicitur; paventibusque tribunis, sine intercessione ulla consules rem peragunt. Tum vero irasci plebs tribunorum magis silentio, quam consulum imperio, et dicere actum esse de libertate sua, rursus ad antiqua reditum; cum Genucio una mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem. Aliud agendum, ac cogitandum, quomodo resistatur Patribus. Id autem unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa plebs, quando aliud nihil auxilii habeat, defendat. Quattuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus, et eos ipsos plebis homines: nihil contemptius neque infirmius, si sint, qui contemnant. Sibi quemque ea magna atque horrenda facere. His vocibus alii alios cum incitassent, ad Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem, quia quod ordines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere,[5] lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos. Cum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem et virgas expediri jubent. 'Provoco,' inquit, 'ad populum' Volero, 'quoniam tribuni civem Romanum in conspectu

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injuria: an for *aut* by an ellipsis, the full sentence being *nullo discrimine facto, jure an injuria.* Compare Zumpt, § 354.

[1] See chapter 33, p. 138, note 3.

[2] *Noxia* = *noxa*, 'a punishable action, a crime.'

[3] *Malum*, of bodily chastisement, as iv. 49, *malum militibus meis, ni quieverint;* that is, 'it will fare badly with my soldiers,' &c.

[4] This is the reading of the manuscripts, though the ordinary usage of the language demands the accusative with *sub* denoting simultaneity or coincidence of time. See Zumpt, § 319.

[5] 'Because upon the ground that he had been a captain, he declared that he should not be made a common soldier:' see chap. 23. His demand was just; and indeed what he here claims as customary was afterwards made a law (see Livy, vii. 41)—namely, that in levying new legions no man should be assigned a rank inferior to that which he had formerly held.

suo virgis caedi malunt, quam ipsi in lecto suo a vobis trucidari.' Quo ferocius clamitabat, eo infestius circumscindere et spoliare lictor. Tum Volero et praevalens ipse et adjuvantibus advocatis, repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro se[1] acerrimus erat clamor, eo se in turbam confertissimam recipit, clamitans 'Provoco, et fidem plebis imploro. Adeste, cives; adeste, commilitones. Nihil est quod expectetis tribunos. quibus ipsus vestro auxilio opus est.' Concitati homines veluti ad proelium se expediunt; apparebatque omne discrimen adesse, nihil cuiquam sanctum non publici fore, non privati juris. Huic tantae tempestati cum se consules obtulissent, facile experti sunt, parum tutam majestatem sine viribus esse. Violatis victoribus, fascibus fractis, e foro in curiam compelluntur, incerti, quatenus Volero exerceret victoriam. Conticescente deinde tumultu, cum in senatum vocari jussissent, queruntur injurias suas, vim plebis, Voleronis audaciam. Multis ferociter dictis sententiis, vicere seniores, quibus ira Patrum adversus temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.

56. Voleronem amplexa favore plebs proximis comitiis tribunum plebi[2] creat in eum annum, qui L. Pinarium, P. Furium consules habuit. Contraque omnium opinionem, qui eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus permissurum[3] tribunatum credebant, post publicam causam privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem violatis consulibus, rogationem tulit ad populum, ut plebeii magistratus tributis comitiis fierent. Haud parva res sub titulo prima specie minime atroci ferebatur, sed quae patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi, quos vellent, tribunos auferret.[4] Huic actioni[5] gratissimae plebi cum summa vi resisterent Patres, nec, quae una vis ad resistendum erat, ut intercederet aliquis ex collegio,[6] auctoritate aut consulum aut principum

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[1] *Pro se* denotes his purpose to betake himself to that quarter whence arose the loudest clamour in his favour; the sense is therefore equivalent to *ubi sentiebat acerrimum indignantium pro se esse clamorem*. Compare chap. 43.

[2] Ancient genitive for *plebei*, from *plebes*, the form of the fifth declension.

[3] *Permittere*. in the sense 'to let loose;' properly used of horsemen or waggoners who give their horses the rein.

[4] It appears from this passage that in the Comitia Tributa not even the clients of the patricians, much less the patricians themselves, were allowed to vote. Before this time the tribunes of the people were elected in the Comitia Curiata, as Cicero and Dionysius expressly mention.

[5] See ii. 31, p. 137, note 4.

[6] Namely, *tribunorum*.

adduci posset, res tamen suo ipsa molimine gravis certaminibus in annum extrahitur. Plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit. Patres ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam, App. Claudium, Appii filium, jam inde a paternis certaminibus invisum infestumque plebi, consulem faciunt. Collega ei T. Quintius datur.

Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege agebatur. Sed ut inventor legis Volero, sic Laetorius, collega ejus, auctor[1] cum recentior tum acrior erat: ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens. quod aetatis ejus haud quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, cum Volero nihil praeterquam de lege loqueretur, insectatione abstinens consulum, ipse in accusationem Appii familiaeque superbissimae ac crudelissimae in plebem Romanam exorsus,[2] cum a Patribus non consulem, sed carnificem ad vexandam et lacerandam plebem creatum esse contenderet, rudis in militari homine lingua non suppetebat libertati animoque. Itaque deficiente oratione, 'Quandoquidem non tam facile loquor,' inquit, 'Quirites, quam quod locutus sum praesto, crastino die adeste. Ego hic aut in conspectu vestro moriar aut perferam legem.' Occupant tribuni templum postero die. Consules nobilitasque ad impediendam legem in contione consistunt. Summoveri Laetorius jubet, praeterquam qui suffragium ineant. Adolescentes nobiles stabant, nihil cedentes viatori.[3] Tum ex his prendi quosdam Laetorius jubet. Consul Appius negare jus esse tribuno in quemquam nisi in plebeium: non enim populi, sed plebis eum magistratum esse. Nec illum ipsum summovere pro imperio posse more majorum, quia ita dicatur 'Si vobis videtur, discedite, Quirites.'[4] Facile[5] et contemptim de jure disserendo perturbare Laetorium poterat. Ardens igitur ira tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem ad tribunum, privatum esse clamitans, sine imperio, sine magistratu; violatusque esset tribunus, ni et contio omnis atrox coorta pro tribuno in consulem

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[1] 'Supporter'=*suasor:* see i. 17, p. 40, note 1.

[2] 'After he had begun to speak;' *ordiri* or *exordiri orationem*, or without *orationem*, 'to begin.'

[3] *Viatores* are in the general sense 'officers' or 'beadles,' properly 'messengers;' this special distinction was made between *lictores* and *viatores* —that the former attended upon and executed the orders of those magistrates who had the *imperium*, whilst the latter class were attached to those who did not possess that power.

[4] It is thus concluded from the polite formula 'if you please,' that the removal of citizens could not be commanded. In many cases, however, this was a mere piece of courtesy, which did not weaken the force of the command.

[5] 'Fluently,' 'easily.'

esset, et concursus hominum in forum ex tota urbe concitatae multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius pertinacia tantam tempestatem; certatumque haud incruento proelio foret, ni Quintius, consul alter, consularibus negotio dato ut collegam vi, si aliter non possent, de foro abducerent, ipse nunc plebem saevientem precibus lenisset, nunc orasset tribunos, ut concilium dimitterent: Darent irae spatium: non vim suam illis tempus adempturum, sed consilium viribus additurum: et Patres in populi et consulem in Patrum fore potestate.

57. Aegre sedata ab Quintio plebs, multo aegrius consul alter a Patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis senatum consules habent. Ubi cum timor atque ira invicem sententias variassent, quo magis spatio interposito ab impetu ad consultandum advocabantur,[1] eo plus abhorrebant a certatione animi, adeo ut Quintio gratias agerent, quod ejus opera mitigata discordia esset. Ab Appio petitur, ut tantam consularem majestatem esse vellet, quanta esse in concordi civitate posset. Dum tribuni consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio; distractam laceratamque rem publicam magis quorum in manu sit, quam ut incolumis sit, quaeri.[2] Appius contra testari deos atque homines, rem publicam prodi per metum ac deseri; non consulem senatui, sed senatum consuli deesse; graviores accipi leges, quam in Sacro Monte acceptae sint. Victus tamen Patrum consensu quievit. Lex silentio perfertur.

58. Tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt. Numero etiam additos tres, perinde ac duo antea fuerint,[3] Piso auctor est. Nominat quoque tribunos, C. Siccium, L. Numitorium, M. Duilium, Sp. Icilium, L. Maecilium.

Volscum Aequicumque inter seditionem Romanam est bellum coortum. Vastaverant agros, ut, si qua secessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet. Compositis deinde rebus castra retro movere. App. Claudius in Volscos missus, Quintio Aequi provincia evenit. Eadem in militia saevitia Appii, quae domi, esse, liberior quod sine tribuniciis vinculis erat. Odisse plebem plus, quam paterno odio: se victum ab ea; se unico consule electo[4] adversus tribuniciam potes-

[1] 'They were summoned;' figurative, for 'they passed over from passion to deliberation.' *Avocabantur* would have been more according to common usage.

[2] *Rem publicam quaeri*, a contracted form of expression for *magis quaeri, in quorum manibus sit, quam ut incolumis sit, respublica.*

[3] See chap. 33, p. 138, note 3.

[4] 'Though he had been chosen as the only fit consul.' *Electo*, or.

tatem, perlatam legem esse, quam minore conatu, nequaquam tanta Patrum spe, priores impedierint consules. Haec ira indignatioque ferocem animum ad vexandum saevo imperio exercitum stimulabat. Nec ulla vi domari poterat:[1] tantum certamen animis imbiberant. Segniter, otiose, negligenter, contumaciter omnia agere; nec pudor nec metus coërcebat. Si citius agi vellet agmen, tardius sedulo incedere; si adhortator operis adesset, omnem[2] sua sponte motam remittere industriam. Praesenti vultus demittere, tacite praetereuntem execrari, ut invictus ille odio plebeio animus interdum moveretur. Omni nequicquam acerbitate prompta nihil jam cum militibus agere; a centurionibus corruptum exercitum dicere; tribunos plebei cavillans interdum et Volerones vocare.

59. Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant, instabantque eo magis, sperantes idem certamen animorum adversus Appium habiturum exercitum Romanum, quod adversus Fabium consulem habuisset.[3] Ceterum multo Appio quam Fabio violentior fuit: non enim vincere tantum noluit, ut Fabianus exercitus, sed vinci voluit. Productus in aciem turpi fuga petit castra; nec ante restitit, quam signa inferentem Volscum munimentis vidit foedamque extremi agminis caedem. Tum expressa vis ad pugnandum, ut victor jam a vallo summoveretur hostis, satis tamen appareret capi tantum castra militem Romanum noluisse: alii gaudere[4] sua clade atque ignominia. Quibus nihil infractus ferox Appii animus cum insuper saevire vellet contionemque advocaret, concurrunt ad eum legati tribunique, monentes, ne utique experiri vellet imperium, cujus vis omnis in consensu obedientium esset. Negare vulgo milites se ad contionem ituros, passimque exaudiri voces postulantium, ut castra ex Volsco agro moveantur. Hostem victorem paulo ante prope in portis ac vallo fuisse; ingentisque mali non suspicionem

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by a mistake in writing, *ejecto*, is the reading of the manuscripts. The editions give *objecto*, which does not accord so well with the signification of *unicus*, as to which see i. 21, p. 45, note 4.

[1] Namely, *exercitus*.

[2] The editions give *omnes*, but the fact that the soldiers were unanimous in their opposition to the will of their commander need not be particularly expressed; we have therefore preferred *omnem*, which is the reading of good manuscripts, and is also supported by the reading of others, *omne*.

[3] See chap. 43.

[4] 'Others rejoiced.' We stumble at this clause, severed from the rest of the sentence; and, had we sufficient manuscript authority, should prefer to read *alioquin gaudere*, depending on *appareret*, 'but that in other respects they were glad.'

modo, sed apertam speciem obversari ante oculos. Victus tandem, quandoquidem nihil praeter tempus noxae[1] lucrarentur, remissa contione iter in insequentem diem pronuntiari cum jussisset, prima luce classico signum profectionis dedit. Cum maxime agmen e castris explicaretur, Volsci ut eodem signo excitati novissimos[2] adoriuntur. A quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus eo pavore signaque et ordines turbavit, ut neque imperia exaudiri, neque instrui acies posset: nemo ullius nisi fugae memor. Ita effuso agmine per stragem corporum armorumque[3] evasere, ut prius hostis desisteret sequi, quam Romanus fugere. Tandem collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus, consul cum revocando nequicquam suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit; advocataque contione invectus haud falso in proditorem exercitum militaris disciplinae, desertorem signorum, ubi signa, ubi arma essent, singulos rogitans, inermes milites, signo amisso signiferos, ad hoc centuriones dupliciariosque,[4] qui reliquerant ordines, virgis caesos securi percussit. Cetera multitudo sorte decimus quisque ad supplicium lecti.

60. Contra ea in Aequis inter consulem ac milites comitate ac beneficiis certatum est. Et natura Quintius erat lenior; et saevitia infelix collegae, quo is magis gauderet ingenio suo, effecerat. Huic tantae concordiae ducis exercitusque non ausi offerre se Aequi vagari populabundum hostem per agros passi. Nec ullo ante bello latius inde actae praedae; ea[5] omnis militi data est. Addebantur et laudes, quibus haud minus quam praemio gaudent militum animi. Cum duci, tum propter ducem Patribus quoque placatior exercitus

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[1] *Noxa*, in a rare sense, 'punishment,' a consequence of guilt, as in the expressions *noxae dedere aliquem alicui* and *noxam mereri* in Livy, xxvi. 29, and viii. 28: so that the three senses of *noxa* are 'injury, guilt, punishment.'

[2] 'The last.'

[3] 'Heaps of men and arms lying on the ground:' the men might not be dead, but merely exhausted.

[4] Three forms of this word—*duplicarius*, *dupliciarius*, and *duplaris*—were applied to soldiers who obtained double pay and rations; a distinction not uncommon in after-times, but which at this period could not exist; for the soldiers did not as yet receive pay, nor perhaps even food from the state. Livy seems to mean generally 'distinguished soldiers.' A similar anticipation of a usage of later times is noticed in chap. 54, p. 165, note 1.

[5] 'This was all given up to the soldiers:' *praeda* collectively, whilst in the preceding clause we have *praedae*, 'the things obtained as booty.' *Ea* has been inserted because found in two of the best manuscripts.

redit, sibi parentem, alteri exercitui dominum datum ab senatu memorans.

Varia fortuna belli, atroci discordia domi forisque annum exactum insignem maxime comitia tributa efficiunt, res major victoria suscepti certaminis, quam usu. Plus enim dignitatis comitiis ipsis detractum est Patribus ex concilio summovendis, quam virium aut plebi additum est aut demptum Patribus.[1]

61. Turbulentior inde annus excepit,[2] L. Valerio, Ti. Aemilio consulibus, cum propter certamina ordinum de lege agraria, tum propter judicium App. Claudii; cui acerrimo adversario legis, causamque possessorum publici agri tamquam tertio consuli[3] sustinenti, M. Duilius et C. Siccius diem dixere. Nunquam ante tam invisus plebi reus ad judicium vocatus populi est, plenus suarum, plenus paternarum irarum.[4] Patres quoque non temere pro ullo aeque annisi sunt: propugnatorem senatus majestatisque vindicem suae, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus, modum dumtaxat in certamine egressum, iratae objici plebi.[5] Unus e Patribus, ipse App. Claudius, et tribunos et plebem et suum judicium pro nihilo habebat. Illum[6] non minae plebis, non senatus preces perpellere unquam potuere, non modo ut vestem mutaret aut supplex prensaret homines, sed ne ut ex consueta quidem asperitate orationis, cum ad populum agenda causa esset, aliquid leniret atque summitteret. Idem habitus oris, eadem contumacia in vultu, idem in oratione spiritus erat, adeo ut magna pars plebis Appium non minus reum timeret, quam consulem timuerat. Semel

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[1] An assertion which is perfectly unjustifiable; for it is quite clear that the plebeians, voting without the interference of the patricians or (probably at least) of their clients, could elect men entirely devoted to their interest.

[2] Namely, *priorem, praeteritum;* therefore=*consecutus est*, 'followed.'

[3] With the same power and authority as if he had been again (for the third time) a consul. It might be considered as the duty of the consuls, from their position at the head of the senate, to maintain the existing constitution, even though in parts it might not be founded in strict justice, as in the case of the patricians' possession of the old royal domain.

[4] Passively, 'hatefulness, hatred to him and his father.'

[5] Such were their thoughts; the accusative with the infinitive depending on the idea of 'they thought' or 'said among themselves' understood. *Non temere*=*non facile.*

[6] 'Him,' with emphasis. *Non modo—sed ne quidem:* see i. 40, p. 71, note 5. Mourning and accused persons commonly put on a dark and worn robe (*vestis sordida*), instead of the ordinary clean and white one.

causam dixit, quo semper agere omnia solitus erat, accusatorio spiritu. Adeoque constantia sua et tribunos obstupefecit et plebem, ut diem ipsi sua voluntate prodicerent,[1] trahi deinde rem sinerent. Haud ita multum interim temporis fuit: ante tamen, quam prodicta dies veniret, morbo moritur. Cujus cum laudationem[2] tribuni plebis impedire conarentur, plebs fraudari sollemni honore supremum diem tanti viri noluit; et laudationem tam aequis auribus mortui audivit, quam vivi accusationem audierat, et exequias frequens celebravit.

62. Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in Aequos profectus, cum hostem ad proelium elicere non posset, castra oppugnare est adortus: prohibuit foeda tempestas cum grandine ac tonitribus coelo dejecta. Admirationem deinde auxit, signo receptui dato, adeo tranquilla serenitas reddita, ut velut numine aliquo defensa castra oppugnare iterum religio fuerit. Omnis ira belli ad populationem agri vertit. Alter consul Aemilius in Sabinis bellum gessit; et ibi, quia hostis moenibus se tenebat, vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde non villarum modo, sed etiam vicorum, quibus frequenter habitabatur,[3] Sabini exciti cum praedatoribus occurrissent, ancipiti proelio digressi postero die rettulere castra in tutiora loca. Id satis consuli visum, cur pro victo relinqueret hostem, integro[4] inde decedens bello.

63. Inter haec bella manente discordia domi, consules T. Numicius Priscus. A. Verginius facti. Non ultra videbatur latura plebes dilationem agrariae legis, ultimaque vis parabatur, cum Volscos adesse fumo ex incendiis villarum fugaque agrestium cognitum est. Ea res maturam jam seditionem ac prope erumpentem repressit. Consules coacti extemplo ab senatu, ad bellum[5] educta ex urbe juventute, tranquilliorem ceteram plebem fecerunt. Et hostes quidem, nihil aliud quam[6] perfusis vano timore Romanis, citato agmine abeunt: Numicius Antium adversus Volscos, Ver-

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[1] *Diem prodicere*, 'to put off the trial, fixing a future day for it.' It appears that the tribunes granted a second delay (*trahi rem sinerent*), which was probably sought by the accused on the ground of his health, for he died before the day ultimately fixed.

[2] In the definite and very common sense of 'a funeral oration.' So also in chap. 47, the word *laudator* for the person who delivers it.

[3] 'In which it was numerously dwelt;' that is, 'where there was a large population.' So in ix. 28, *omnia aedificia (et frequenter ibi habitabatur) circumjecta muris incendit.*

[4] 'Without the war's having been brought to an end.'

[5] It is doubtful to what *ad bellum* belongs. In our opinion *coacti ad bellum* is not such good Latin as *educere ad bellum.*

[6] See chap. 29, p. 133, note 6.

ginius contra Aequos profectus. Ibi ex insidiis prope magna accepta clade, virtus militum rem prolapsam negligentia consulis restituit. Melius in Volscis imperatum est: fusi primo proelio hostes, fugaque in urbem Antium, ut tum res erant, opulentissimam acti. Quam consul oppugnare non ausus, Caenonem,[1] aliud oppidum nequaquam tam opulentum, ab Antiatibus cepit. Dum Aequi Volscique Romanos exercitus tenent,[2] Sabini usque ad portas urbis populantes incessere. Deinde ipsi paucis post diebus ab duobus exercitibus, utroque per iram consule ingresso in fines, plus cladium, quam intulerant, acceperunt.

64. Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed ut semper alias, sollicitae certamine Patrum et plebis. Irata plebs interesse consularibus comitiis noluit: per Patres clientesque Patrum consules creati T. Quintius, Q. Servilius. Similem annum priori consules habent, seditiosa initia, bello deinde externo tranquilla.[3] Sabini Crustuminos campos citato agmine transgressi, cum caedes et incendia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, a porta prope Collina moenibusque pulsi ingentes tamen praedas hominum pecorumque egere. Quos Servilius consul infesto exercitu insecutus ipsum quidem agmen adipisci aequis locis non potuit; populationem adeo effuse fecit, ut nihil bello intactum relinqueret multiplicique capta praeda rediret.

Et in Volscis res publica egregie gesta cum ducis, tum militum opera. Primum aequo campo signis collatis pugnatum, ingenti caede utrimque, plurimo sanguine: et Romani, quia paucitas damno sentiendo propior[4] erat, gradum rettulissent, ni salubri mendacio consul, fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans, concitasset aciem. Impetu facto, dum se putant vincere, vicere. Consul metuens, ne nimis instando renovaret certamen, signum receptui dedit. Intercessere pauci dies, velut tacitis indutiis utrimque quiete sumpta; per quos ingens vis hominum ex omnibus Volscis Aequisque populis in castra venit, haud dubitans, si senserint, Romanos nocte abituros. Itaque tertia fere vigilia ad castra oppugnanda veniunt. Quintius, sedato tumultu, quem terror subitus exciverat, cum manere in tentoriis

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[1] Dionysius does not mention the name, but says merely 'a small seaport.' Other writers also omit the name. We have given *Caenonem* instead of *Cenonem*, according to the best manuscripts.

[2] 'Keep employed.'

[3] Supply *tempora*. a freedom of expression occasioned by the fact, that *initio* is = *prima tempora*.

[4] 'Nearer;' that is, 'more fitted:' *longe absum ab aliqua re* is opposed to *propius absum*, and also *propior sum*.

quietum militem jussisset, Hernicorum cohortem in stationem educit; cornicines tubicinesque in equos impositos canere ante vallem jubet, sollicitumque hostem ad lucem tenere. Reliquum noctis adeo tranquilla omnia in castris fuere, ut somni quoque Romanis copia esset. Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos et plures esse et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum, qui et insueto sedente equite et insuper aures agitante sonitu saeviebant, intentos velut ad impetum hostium tenuit.

65. Ubi illuxit, Romanus integer satiatusque somno productus in aciem fessum stando et vigiliis Volscum primo impetu perculit. Quamquam cessere magis, quam pulsi hostes sunt, quia ab tergo erant clivi, in quos post principia[1] integris ordinibus tutus receptus fuit. Consul, ubi ad iniquum locum ventum est, sistit aciem. Miles aegre teneri, clamare et poscere, ut perculsis instare liceat. Ferocius agunt equites: circumfusi duci vociferantur se ante signa ituros. Dum cunctatur consul, virtute militum fretus, loco parum fidens, conclamant se ituros; clamoremque res est secuta. Fixis in terram pilis, quo leviores ardua evaderent, cursu subeunt. Volscus, effusis ad primum impetum missilibus telis, saxa objacentia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes, turbatosque ictibus crebris urget ex superiore loco. Sic prope oneratum est[2] sinistrum Romanis cornu, ni referentibus jam gradum consul, increpando simul temeritatem, simul ignaviam, pudore metum excussisset. Restitere primo obstinatis animis; deinde ut in obtinentes locum vires ferebant,[3] audent ultro gradum inferre, et clamore renovato commovent aciem. Tum rursus impetu capto enituntur, atque exsuperant iniquitatem loci. Jam prope erat ut in summum clivi jugum evaderent, cum terga hostes

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[1] ' Equivalent to *post primam aciem*, ' behind their front line.'

[2] As to this construction, the indicative where we should expect the subjunctive, ' they were nearly, and would have been altogether crushed, unless,' &c. see chap. 10, p. 111, note 1. The sense is, that the soldiers, terrified by the stones showered down upon them, were panic-struck, standing still, or beginning to retreat, exposed to the danger, and would have been crushed had not the consul urged them to renew the attack.

[3] ' As their strength permitted them to press on against those (the Volscians) who were in possession of the place.' This has been the reading of the editions since the time of Sigonius, who introduced *in*, which is wanting in the manuscripts. We might translate the sentence without it thus: ' as those who held the place were bringing their strength against the Romans'—that is, ' were coming forward to have a hand-to-hand fight with the Romans.' *Ferre vires* would then be = *inferre arma*.

dedere; effusoque cursu paene agmine uno fugientes sequentesque castris incidere. In eo pavore castra capiuntur; qui Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt. Antium et Romanus exercitus ductus: paucos circumsessum dies deditur, nulla oppugnantium nova vi, sed quod jam inde ab infelici pugna castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.[1]

[1] With this capture of Antium—the first favourable turn of the war against the Volsci and Aequi—Livy concludes the second book of his history. This conquest was not lasting: Antium revolted, and joined the Volscians again; and sixty years afterwards, in Livy, iv. 59, we find the Romans at war with the Antiates. It was not till 338, B.C. (Livy, viii. 14) that this then great seaport fell finally into the hands of the Romans, and had a colony settled in it.



LIBRI XXI, XXII.

LIBER XXI.

(1) Reflections on the greatness of the second Punic war, the history of which is begun in this book. The well-known anecdote of Hannibal's oath. (2) Hasdrubal's conduct in Spain, and murder. (3) Discussion in the Carthaginian senate as to Hannibal's being appointed commander. (4) Hannibal's character. (5) He makes war on some Spanish tribes. (6) He commences hostilities against the Saguntines, allies of the Roman people. The Romans send ambassadors to him. (7–8) Saguntum besieged. (9–10) The Roman ambassadors, refused an audience by Hannibal, proceed to Carthage. Proceedings in the Carthaginian senate. Hanno's speech. (11–15) Siege of Saguntum continued. Alco and Alorcus. City taken. (16–17) Alarm at Rome. Arrangements for the war. (18) Roman ambassadors go to Carthage. War formally declared. (19–20) The ambassadors attempt to turn away the tribes of Spain and Gaul from the Carthaginians, but without much success. (21–22) Hannibal makes arrangements for the safety of Africa and Spain during his projected invasion of Italy. He sees a good omen. (23–24) He passes the Pyrenees. The Gauls are induced not to oppose his march. (25) A tumultuary war between the Romans and Boii. (26–32) P. Cornelius Scipio sent to the south of Gaul to oppose Hannibal's march. Hannibal crosses the Rhone, and continues his march without Scipio's being able to prevent it. He arrives at the foot of the Alps, and the consul returns to his ships. (33–37) Hannibal's celebrated march across the Alps. (38) Number of his forces. Point at which he crossed the Alps discussed. (39) Hannibal recruits his troops, and Scipio hurries north to the Ticinus, to attack him while his soldiers are yet weary with their terrible march. (40–41) Scipio's speech to his soldiers. (42) Hannibal contrives means of keeping up the spirits of his soldiers. (43–44) His speech to the troops. (45) He offers rewards for valour. (46) The battle on the Ticinus. Scipio worsted, and wounded. (47–48) Hannibal advances to the Trebia. He obtains possession of the village of Clastidium, where the Romans have stored up corn. (49–50) The Romans and Carthaginians have a sea-fight off Sicily. (51) The Consul Sempronius, having made arrangements for the safety of Sicily, joins his colleague at the Trebia. (52) Sempronius eager to fight, Scipio backward. A skirmish between the Romans and Carthaginians, in which the former have slightly the better. (53) Sempronius resolves to give battle. Hannibal equally eager, because sure of victory. (54) The Romans cross the Trebia, and are almost frozen. (55–56) The battle. (57–59) Great alarm at Rome. Cn. Servilius and

C. Flaminius elected consuls. Hannibal's troops suffer severely from cold. Skirmish between Hannibal and Sempronius. (60) Scipio, sent to Spain, defeats Hanno, (61) and ravages the country of the allies of the Carthaginians. (62) Prodigies at Rome. (63) C. Flaminius enters on his consulship.

In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari quod in principio summae totius[1] professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quae unquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus ullae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma; neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit:[2] et haud ignotas belli artes inter se,[3] sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello: et adeo varia belli fortuna ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum[4] fuerint qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam prope majoribus certarunt quam viribus,

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[1] *Summae totius*, 'of a whole connected work.' *Summa* means 'a whole,' in opposition to its parts. Livy says, then, that having now come to a distinct part of his work—to wit, the history of the second Punic war—he may make the same remark which many other historians have made at the beginning of their works—namely, that they were about to describe very remarkable events. Thucydides, for example, commences his history of the Peloponnesian war with a similar observation. The whole history of a nation, such as Livy narrates, must contain portions of very various importance. The second Punic war, which broke out in 218 B.C., stands out in Roman history as of prime importance: it was a kind of ordeal of the Roman state; and when Rome came out of it, not unscathed, indeed, but still strong and proud, no nation afterwards could ever cope with her.

[2] Livy says that at no time had Carthage and Rome been so powerful as when they began the second Punic war; and this statement is quite correct, for Carthage had made up for the loss of Sicily and Sardinia, which followed the first Punic war, by the appropriation of Spain; and all Roman writers unite in testifying that Italy, which was closely connected with Rome, was never more populous, or, from the military spirit and skill of its free-born inhabitants, more flourishing, than shortly before the outbreak of the Hannibalian war. Its wealth and population were great also in later times; but the wealth was in the hands of a comparatively small number, while the population in the Roman part was composed principally of slaves, freedmen, and very poor people, not, as formerly, of a respectable middle-class.

[3] 'With each other,' a more particular definition added to *haud ignotas:* the manner and peculiarities of the warfare of each were known by experience to the other—were mutually known.

[4] Livy uses both constructions—the dative and the accusative—with the comparative and superlative of *prope*. See *Gram.* § 255, note 2.

Romanis indignantibus quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma, Poenis quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse.[1] Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum ferme novem,[2] pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello[3] exercitum eo trajecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum,[4] tactis sacris jurejurando adactum se, cum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam, et Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum, stipendio[5] etiam insuper imposito, interceptam.

2. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem,[6] per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gesset, ut appareret majus eum quam quod gereret agitare in animo bellum, et si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae illaturos fuisse. qui Hannibalis ductu intulerunt:[7]

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[1] The Romans had made use of their superiority after the first Punic war—whilst Carthage was engaged in a dangerous struggle with her rebellious mercenaries—to render the conditions of peace more severe, exacting more money, and taking possession of the island of Sardinia, to which, however, the Carthaginians had properly as little right as the Romans.

[2] As to this genitive, see *Gram.* § 276.

[3] This is the war, alluded to in a previous note, which the Carthaginians carried on with the mercenaries whom they had employed in the first Punic war, and afterwards shamefully dismissed without the pay due to them. These mercenary troops consisted chiefly of Gallic barbarians. This war, according to a statement of our author in the following chapter, lasted for five years: whereas Polybius, who gives a detailed account of it, mentions only three years and five months, probably reckoning, however, merely the time spent in actual warfare. The war was brought to a close principally by the skill and valour of Hamilcar.

[4] *Altaria*, the high altar in the inner part of a temple, is commonly used as a *plurale tantum* (*Gram.* § 77), because such an altar consists, as it were, of several *arae* piled upon one another.

[5] *Stipendium* is 'a war contribution,' so called because originally it was imposed on a conquered nation, to pay the troops who had been employed in the war by the conquerors.

[6] 'Immediately after the conclusion of peace with the Romans.' The adjective *recentem* merely expresses more definitely the sense implied in the preposition *sub*. See Zumpt, § 319.

[7] 'It was evident that the Carthaginians, who invaded Italy under the command of Hannibal, would have done the same under Hamilcar, if he had lived longer.' We have restored the reading of the manuscripts, *qui*, for which other editions give *quae*, referring to *arma:* 'the Carthaginians would have invaded Italy under Hamil-

mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus,[1] gener inde ob altam indolem provecto annis ascitus, et quia gener erat, factionis Barcinae opibus, quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane voluntate principum, in imperio positus.[2] Is plura consilio quam vi gerens, hospitiis magis regulorum[3] conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginiensem auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit: barbarus eum quidam palam, ob iram interfecti ab eo domini,[4] obtruncavit; comprehensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio quam si evasisset vultu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris ut superante laetitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem praebuerit.[5] Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo jungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Iberus, Saguntinisque[6] mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

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car, as they actually did under Hannibal.' The sense is not materially different.

[1] 'He first gained the favour of Hamilcar by his youthful beauty:' the author adds, 'as people say,' because this kind of recommendation leads to the suspicion of something immoral, and not creditable to the great Hamilcar.

[2] 'Promoted to the supreme command.' Hamilcar was surnamed *Barca*, which was either a personal appellation, meaning 'lightning,' or a generic name, indicating that he was a member of the Carthaginian *gens Barcina*, which is mentioned by Livy in xxiii. 41. From *Barca* the party in Carthage which supported Hamilcar, and after him his son Hannibal, was called the *factio Barcina*. The party was opposed in the senate by another, less hostile to the Romans, and the heads of which are here called *principes*. Against their will Hasdrubal obtained the chief command in Spain; and in the same manner the *factio Barcina* maintained its influence during the remainder of the war.

[3] This was the name given to the princes of the Spanish tribes, and of petty tribes in general; whilst *rex* was reserved for greater states, and was in later times bestowed by the Roman senate as an honour on allied—that is, subordinate—princes.

[4] 'From anger at the killing of his master by him (Hasdrubal).' As to the objective genitive, see *Gram.* § 273, with notes.

[5] The perfect subjunctive, representing the statement as a result, not a part of the regular narrative. See Zumpt, § 504.

[6] Saguntum, the modern Murviedro (*muri veteres*), near Valencia, was situated not far from the sea, and beyond the Iberus (that is, looking from Rome). This city, therefore, when the Iberus was made the boundary between the Carthaginian and Roman domin-

3. In Hasdrubalis locum[1] haud dubia res fuit quin praerogativam militarem, qua extemplo juvenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore atque assensu appellatus erat, favor plebis sequeretur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se arcessierat; actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat, Barcinis nitentibus ut assuesceret militiae Hannibal atque in paternas succederet opes. Hanno,[2] alterius factionis princeps, 'et aequum postulare videtur' inquit 'Hasdrubal; et ego tamen non censeo, quod petit, tribuendum.' Cum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiae in se omnes convertisset, 'florem aetatis' inquit 'Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum praebuit, justo jure eum[3] a filio repeti censet: nos tamen minime decet juventutem nostram pro militari rudimento[4] assuefacere libidini praetorum. An hoc timemus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et cujus regis genero hereditarii sint relicti exercitus nostri, ejus filio parum mature serviamus?[5] Ego istum juve-

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ions, would naturally have been included in the former: according to Livy, however, it was expressly stipulated in the treaty that the independence of Saguntum should be preserved intact. But Polybius denies this.

[1] This sentence is somewhat irregular. When the author began with *in Hasdrubalis locum*, he no doubt purposed to go on thus—*Hannibal primum a militibus imperator creatus, deinde etiam a populo Carthaginiensi institutus est.* Leaving, however, the construction which he had begun, he passes over into *haud dubia res fuit, quin praerogativam militarem favor plebis sequeretur*, expressing the principal thought—namely, *Hannibal imperator creatus est*—by a parenthesis added to *praerogativam militarem.* To this parenthesis belong properly the words *in Hasdrubalis locum.* Such irregularities, not in sense, but in construction, are to be found in almost all writers both ancient and modern, and are to be ascribed to the so-called *grata negligentia*, or rather, to speak more accurately, to the unforced naturalness of expression. The ordinary reading is *favor etiam plebis;* but *etiam* is wanting in the best manuscripts, and is not necessary.

[2] Livy gives us here a specimen of the quarrels in the senate of Carthage, which is very interesting, as allowing us a peep at the scurrilous personalities which the grandees of that mighty city sometimes threw out against each other. The antithetical statement that Hasdrubal asked what was just, and yet that his request should not be granted, excited the wonder of the auditors, and thereby made the reproach contained in the subsequent explanation all the more bitter.

[3] *Eum* comes in very tardly, referring to *florem: eundem* might have occupied its place. See Zumpt, § 744, *sub fin.*

[4] 'Instead of learning the art of war.'

[5] A bitter question, which carries with it its own answer—namely,

nem domi tenendum, sub legibus, sub magistratibus docendum vivere aequo jure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque[1] parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet.'

4. Pauci, ac ferme optimus quisque, Hannoni assentiebantur: sed ut plerumque fit, major pars meliorem[2] vicit. Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit. Hamilcarem juvenem redditum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit ut pater in se minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset.[3] Nunquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres[4] utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset: neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset; neque milites alio duce plus confidere[5] aut audere. Plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate modus finitus,[6] vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora.[7] Id quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio arcessita:[8] multi saepe

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'Hannibal will witness the spectacle of absolute domination soon enough, and we shall soon enough be made to obey the son of him who has left our armies as an inheritance to his son-in-law.'

[1] *Quandoque*=*aliquando*, but implying an undefined generality. 'Some time, we know not when, sooner or later, but assuredly some time.'

[2] The *melior pars* is therefore, according to Livy, the party opposed to the House of Barca. This is the judgment of the Roman; history has decided otherwise, for Hannibal justified all the confidence reposed in him.

[3] 'He soon brought about that his father (that is, the memory of his great father Hamilcar) was the least means of gaining the affections of the soldiers:' his own ability and skill being much more efficient.

[4] 'A person could not easily decide,' or 'have decided.' See *Gram.*, § 347, note.

[5] *Confidere*, 'to have confidence;' *alio duce* (an ablative absolute), 'another being leader,' or 'under the command of another.'

[6] 'The measure of his food and drink was regulated by the requirements of nature, not by sensual desires.'

[7] 'The times of waking and sleeping were not separated;' that is, he could remain awake during the night, and sleep by day whenever occasion required—a power over mind and body which is necessary to an active man of business.

[8] 'Sleep was not summoned to him by soft cushions, or the maintenance of strict silence;' that is, he slept only when he was weary,

militari sagulo opertum, humi jacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens: arma atque equi conspiciebantur.[1] Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat: princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio[2] excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant, inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica,[3] nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re quae agenda videndaque[4] magno futuro duci esset praetermissa.

5. Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus,[5] velut Italia ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines (ultra Iberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat) induxit exercitum,

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and then he could find repose on a hard bed and in the midst of noise.

[1] 'Attracted notice by their surpassing beauty.'

[2] 'When the troops had come to close quarters:' he never went out of the fray till the contest was decided.

[3] *Romana fides* and *Punica perfidia* were proverbial expressions among the Romans. These qualities had no doubt their origin in the avocations respectively pursued by the two nations—the Romans being principally agriculturists, the Carthaginians merchants and seamen. In international proceedings, neither state was much better than the other in regard to *perfidia*, though the Romans took great pains to maintain the appearance of faithfully keeping the treaties.

[4] He strove to learn to see and know everything with his own eyes.

[5] Hannibal entered on his command in the year 221 B.C., and devoted this year and the two following to the extension of the Carthaginian dominion in Spain, and the preparation of means for his invasion of Italy. His immediate predecessor, Hasdrubal, had (chap. 2) ruled in Spain for eight years, and his predecessor, Hamilcar, for nine. To these twenty years, if we add the three during which the Carthaginians were engaged in the African war with their mercenaries, we have the whole twenty-three years which elapsed between the conclusion of the first Punic war (241 B.C.) and the outbreak of the second (218 B.C.). It appears from this computation that Polybius, who assigns somewhat more than three years to the African war, is more correct than Livy, who (chap. 1) gives five years. As Hannibal was nine years old at the time of his father's departure for Spain, and Hamilcar and Hasdrubal had governed for seventeen years, he must have been twenty-six years of age when he assumed the command.

ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus, jungendoque tractus ad id bellum videri posset.[1] Althiam[2] urbem opulentam, caput gentis ejus, expugnat diripitque. Quo metu perculsae minores civitates, stipendio imposito,[3] imperium accepere. Victor exercitus opulentusque praeda Carthaginem novam[4] in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo praedam stipendioque praeterito cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis, vere primo in Vaccaeos[5] promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala urbes vi captae. Arbocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa. Ab Hermandica profugi exulibus Olcadum, priore aestate domitae gentis, cum se junxissent, concitant Carpetanos,[6] adortique Hannibalem regressum ex Vaccaeis haud procul Tago flumine agmen grave praeda turbavere. Hannibal proelio abstinuit; castrisque super ripam positis, cum prima quies silentium-

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[1] The principal part of Hannibal's plan, therefore, was to provoke the Romans to war by besieging Saguntum. He intended, however, first to subdue the other Spanish tribes beyond the Iberus, partly in order to strengthen the Carthaginian dominion in Spain, partly to make it appear as if he had not from the beginning had his eye upon Saguntum, but was led to it in regular order (*rerum serie*), after subduing the neighbouring tribes, 'by the desire of adding the Saguntines to them.' This must be the sense of *jungendo*, though it cannot be denied that the word does not recommend itself as parcularly suitable for the expression of this idea.

[2] This is the name which Polybius gives to the chief town of the Olcades: in the ordinary editions of Livy the reading is *Carteiam*, with many variations, however, in the manuscripts. Neither the tribe of the Olcades nor the name of their capital is elsewhere mentioned: the historically-known place called Carteia was situated near Gades (Cadiz), and consequently quite away from the quarter comprehended in Hannibal's plan.

[3] 'A war contribution having been imposed upon them.' Commonly ablatives absolute are only so used that the subject of the main verb is to be understood as agent; for instance, *Carthaginienses, stipendio imposito, civitatem in dicionem receperunt*, 'after a contribution had been imposed by them.' Sometimes, however, cases occur, as here, where to the ablative absolute the subject of the main verb is the object.

[4] The modern Carthagena on the Mediterranean, situated between and about equidistant from Valencia on the east, and Malaga on the west—a foundation of the Carthaginians, and the capital of their province in Spain.

[5] The Vaccaei were a tribe in the northern part of Spain, about equidistant from the two oceans. Their chief town was called Palantia, now Palencia, to the north of the river Durius (Duoro or Duero).

[6] A considerable tribe on the Tagus (Tajo) and Anas (Gaudiana). Its chief town was Toletum (Toledo).

que ab hostibus fuit,[1] amnem vado trajecit, valloque ita producto[2] ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus praecepit ut, cum ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur; peditum agmen in ripa et elephantos (quadraginta autem erant) disposuit. Carpetanorum cum appendicibus Olcadum Vaccaeorumque centum milia fuere, invicta acies, si aequo dimicaretur campo.[3] Itaque et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti, et quod metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari victoriam rati quod interesset amnis,[4] clamore sublato passim sine ullius imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in amnem ruunt. Et ex parte altera[5] ripae vis ingens equitum in flumen immissa, medioque alveo haudquaquam pari certamine concursum, quippe ubi[6] pedes instabilis ac vix vado fidens vel ab inermi equite, equo temere acto, perverti posset, eques corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites stabili, comminus eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna flumine absumpta: quidam verticoso amni delati in hostes[7] ab elephantis obtriti sunt: postremi, quibus regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione cum in unum colligerentur, priusquam ex tanto pavore reciperent animos, Hannibal

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[1] 'As soon as there was the first sleep and quietness on the side of the enemy' =*concubia et silente nocte. Ab hostibus*, 'on the side of the enemy,' nearly =*apud hostes*.

[2] 'Having brought down the rampart of his camp (towards the bank) only so far that,' &c. *Ita*, 'so,' serving for a more precise definition, here restriction. He might have extended the rampart to the water's edge, and thereby have provided for the security of the camp; but he wished to leave room for the enemy to cross the river, expecting thus to have an opportunity of giving them a blow. As to *ita* in the sense of 'only so far,' see Zumpt, § 726.

[3] 'An invincible host, if the fight had taken place on plain ground.' We say 'had taken place;' but in Latin the assumed case, though at the same time expressed as not true, is put in the simple imperfect.

[4] *Quod amnis* are to be connected, 'that of the river which lay between'—that is, the distance created by the river. This distance they believed was the only thing which delayed their gaining the victory. See *Gram.* § 275, *a*.

[5] From Hannibal's side.

[6] *Quippe ubi* means, 'because there;' namely, *in medio alveo.* The sentence consists of two parts—*pedes vel ab inermi equite perverti poterat*, and *eques [autem] liber rem gerere poterat:* 'the infantry (of the Spaniards) could be thrown down even by unarmed horsemen, but the Carthaginian horsemen could make free use of their arms.'

[7] 'Carried away by the current of the stream and thrown on the bank of the enemy.'

agmine quadrato[1] amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit, vastatisque agris intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in deditionem accepit. Et jam omnia trans Iberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.

6. Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum jam belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur,[2] maxime Turdetanis. Quibus cum adesset idem qui litis erat sator, nec certamen juris sed vim quaeri appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum jam haud dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romae erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Qui cum legatis in senatum introductis de re publica rettulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent[3] ut ab Saguntinis sociis populi Romani abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam trajicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent, hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe[4] celerius Saguntum oppugnari allatum est. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum, et alii provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intendebant[5] bellum. Erant qui non temere[6] movendam rem tantam expectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Haec sententia, quae tutissima videbatur,

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[1] *Agmine quadrato* is here nothing more than 'in complete battle order,' or 'in close array,' since there was no occasion for a march in square, which is necessary only when an attack from all sides at once is anticipated. This was not the case here, for there were now no enemies on the Carthaginian bank of the river. Hannibal, after forcing back those of the enemy who had been crossing to attack him, followed up his success by passing over the river himself with his army, and thus driving on the Spaniards, who were confounded by their misfortune in the river, still further.

[2] 'Quarrels were excited'—namely, between the Saguntines and their neighbours—by Hannibal's means. He assisted the Turdetani, although he pretended to wish to reconcile the parties.

[3] *Denuntiare*, 'to declare,' or 'give warning,' commonly implying a threat. We should expect *qui* as the subject of this verb, but the relative pronoun is connected with the protasis, and must be supplied to the apodosis. See Zumpt, § 804.

[4] *Spes*, 'expectation,' as frequently.

[5] *Decernentes—intendebant*, 'decreeing, they directed the whole war to Spain;' that is, gave their vote that the whole war should be confined to Spain, Africa being left alone. Thus that which is intended to be done is expressed by the simple verb. See Zumpt, § 713.

[6] 'Not so hurriedly.' *Que* in *expectandosque*, after the negation, takes the force of an adversative particle, as *sed*. See Zumpt, § 774.

vicit; legatique eo maturius missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcendum.

7. Dum ea Romani parant consultantque,[1] jam Saguntum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Iberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur,[2] mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis: ceterum in tantas[3] brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus,[4] seu multitudinis incremento, seu disciplinae sanctitate,[5] qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines, pervastatis passim agris, urbem tripartito aggreditur. Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioremque quam cetera circa vallem vergens. Adversus eum vineas[6] agere instituit, per quas aries moenibus admoveri posset. Sed ut locus procul muro satis aequus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, coeptis succedebat.[7] Et turris ingens imminebat,[8] et murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra ceterae modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et juventus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur, ibi vi majore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus summovere

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[1] As to *dum* with the present, see *Gram.* § 332, note.

[2] The transition from the name of a city to the inhabitants is not uncommon in the ancient writers, and is the more natural here, since the word *civitas* is used, which properly points to the citizens, not to the buildings of a town. The island of *Zacynthos* is now called Zante, situated near the west coast of the Morea; the Rutulians were an ancient tribe on the borders of Latium in Ardea, which, long before this time, had become a Latin colony.

[3] 'To such a power;' namely, as they had at the time of this war with Hannibal.

[4] 'Profits from the sea (that is, from fisheries particularly), or from the land (from the successful cultivation of the soil).'

[5] *Disciplina* is the mode of regulating the domestic and public life, 'education and manner of life,' which in Saguntum was *sancta*, 'pure and blameless.'

[6] *Vineae* were covered walks, so called from their external resemblance to bowers formed of vines, under which the assailants of a town could attack the wall without danger. *Aries*—literally 'a ram'—was a heavy beam tipped with iron, which was used for battering at walls or gates.

[7] *Succedit* impersonally; *succedit coeptis* = *coepta succedunt.* In the same manner *fraus succedit*, or *fraudi succedit*, 'the fraud is successful.'

[8] 'There was a great tower near, commanding the wall.'

hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati,[1] deinde jam non pro moenibus modo atque turri tela micare,[2] sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium animus erat: quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Poeni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit,[3] tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset quin opera ac vineae desererentur.

8. Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur:[4] per quod tempus ut quies certaminum erat, ita[5] ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus,[6] vix accipientibus[7] quibusdam opera locis, vineae coeptae agi admoverique aries. Abundabat multitudine hominum Poenus: ad centum enim quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur. Oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distineri coepti sunt[8] et non sufficiebant. Itaque jam feriebantur arietibus muri, quassataeque multae partes erant. Una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem:[9] tres deinceps turres, quantumque inter eas muri erat, cum fragore ingenti prociderant, cap-

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[1] 'They permitted the enemies, who were erecting batteries, to do nothing in safety;' that is, made everything dangerous for them.

[2] 'The darts (thrown by the townsmen) flew and flashed before the eyes of the enemy;' for *micare*, 'to gleam,' is also used of anything in rapid motion dashing past one's eyes. In the same manner we speak of hearing, 'a bullet whizzed or whistled past.' We observe here the transition from the historical infinitive, *summovere, pati, micare*, to the imperfect *erat*. See Zumpt, § 599, note.

[3] As to the accusative of reference, *adversum femur*, indicating the part, 'in the thigh turned towards the enemy,' see *Gram.* § 259, 2.

[4] 'Till the wound of the commander healed.' The subjunctive is used to express the waiting for what was still an uncertain result. See *Gram.* § 356.

[5] *Ut—ita* have here the force of 'indeed—but still.' There was a cessation from actual hostilities indeed, but still the military works went on vigorously. See Zumpt, § 726.

[6] 'In more places,' namely, than before. The mere ablative of place 'where,' without the preposition *in*, is not uncommon in a general or indefinite mention of places.

[7] 'Some places scarcely receiving works;' that is, being ill adapted for the erection of besieging batteries.

[8] 'The townsmen began to be kept employed in many different quarters.' On the analogy of *multifariam*, the adverb *omnifariam* also, 'in all places,' or 'from all sides,' is formed.

[9] 'One part (of the wall) had, by continuous breaches, laid the city bare;' that is, in one part the breach in the wall was so extensive, that the city was laid bare.

tumque oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni; qua,[1] velut si pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius[2] conciri solent: sed justae acies,[3] velut patenti campo, inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos irritat, Poeno cepisse jam se urbem, si paululum annitatur, credente, Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora opponentibus, nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et conferti magis utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur, nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo.[4] Falarica erat Saguntinis, missile telum hastili abiegno et cetero tereti[5] praeterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat. Id, sicut in pilo, quadratum[6] stuppa circumligabant liniebantque pice. Ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiamsi haesisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur[7] conceptumque ipso motu multo majorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat, nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus praebebat.[8]

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[1] *Qua, scil. ruina:* 'upon this fall both sides rushed forward to battle.' The Carthaginians, who thought the city as good as already taken, had now a very severe hand-to-hand conflict to sustain in the breach.

[2] 'By a favourable opportunity offering itself to the one party or the other.' *Alter*, properly 'the one,' has not unfrequently the sense of *alteruter*, 'the one or the other.'

[3] *Justae acies* are armies drawn up in regular order, in opposition to *tumultuariae manus*, bands of men without any order.

[4] 'As no dart fell without injuring some one, between arms and bodies.'

[5] 'With a beechen shaft, which was otherwise round. The singular of the common plural *ceteri* is rare. It does occur sometimes, however, except the nominative *ceterus*. Sallust expresses himself in a manner similar to this, Jugurtha, chap. 89: *Capsenses una modo —jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur*, 'made use of only one running water, otherwise of rain.' In the ordinary editions of Livy, the present passage is given with *cetera*, a Greek accusative of reference, instead of *cetero*, agreeing with *hastili*. *Cetero*, however, is found in all the manuscripts, and can be very well defended.

[6] 'This end, which, as in the Roman *pilum*, was four-cornered, they rolled round with oakum.'

[7] 'When it, set on fire in the middle, was thrown,' *medium*, standing for *in medio*, and expressing the place or part adjectively. See *Gram.* § 316.

[8] When a soldier had his shield protected by a *falarica*, he was alarmed at the fire, and threw the buckler away, thereby exposing

9. Cum diu anceps fuisset certamen, et Saguntinis, quia praeter spem resisterent, crevissent animi, Poenus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem repente oppidani tollunt, hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.[1]

Interim ab Roma[2] legatos venisse nuntiatum est; quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale qui dicerent nec tuto eos adituros inter tot[3] tam efferatarum gentium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operae esse[4] legationes audire. Apparebat non admissos Carthaginem protinus ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes factionis Barcinae praemittit, ut praepararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari pro Romanis posset.[5]

10. Itaque, praeterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque irrita legatio fuit. Hanno unus adverso senatu causam foederis, magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam, non cum assensu audientium egit.[6] Per deos foederum arbitros ac testes monuisse, praedixisse se[7] ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent. Non manes, non stirpem ejus conquiescere viri; nec unquam, donec sanguinis nomin-

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himself undefended to all subsequent volleys. It is worthy of remark that in this sentence *arma* is used as equivalent to 'shield.' Indeed this is its proper signification, *arma* being opposed, as 'defensive arms,' to *tela*, 'offensive.'

[1] Three successful efforts of the Saguntines, after maintaining for a long time a firm resistance, are distinguished: first, they forced the Carthaginians out of the space between the town and the wall; secondly, they drove them also from the breach, where they were standing irresolutely, not having room to extend their forces; and thirdly, chased them back into their own camp.

[2] *Ab Roma* for the simple ablative. See *Gram.* § 307, 3, note 1.

[3] A more common mode of expression would be *inter tot tamque efferatarum*, the conjunction being added in the same manner as with *multi*. See Zumpt, § 756.

[4] *Operae mihi non est*, 'it is not my business;' therefore = *non vacat mihi*, 'I have not time for it;' also = *non est operae pretium*, 'it is not worth the trouble.'

[5] 'That the other party might not be able to do anything in favour of the Romans.' Commonly we say *gratificor tibi aliquid*, 'I do you a favour;' but here we have *pro Romanis* instead of the dative.

[6] 'Hanno alone, the senate being opposed to him, pleaded the cause of the Roman treaty' (that is, spoke in support of it), 'whilst his hearers maintained deep silence, but did not assent to his views.' The manuscripts have *cum assensu*, which is plainly false, for *non* is necessary. We may either, however, read *non cum assensu*, or, omitting the *cum*, *non assensu*, for the mere ablative also can be used.

[7] 'He had warned, declared beforehand,' an asyndeton of the rhetorical style.

inque Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana foedera.[1] Juvenem flagrantem cupidine regni, viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni praebentes, ad exercitus misistis.[2] Aluistis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri circumsident exercitus, unde arcentur foedere: mox Carthaginem circumsidebunt Romanae legiones, ducibus iisdem diis, per quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt ulti.[3] Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis?[4] Legatos ab sociis et pro sociis venientes bonus[5] imperator vester in castra non admisit, jus gentium sustulit. Hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcentur, pulsi ad vos veniunt, res ex foedere repetunt.[6] Publica fraus absit;[7] auctorem culpae et reum criminis deposcunt. Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo, cum coeperint, vereor ne perseverantius saeviant. Aegates insulas Erycemque[8] ante oculos proponite; quae terra marique per quattuor et viginti annos passi sitis. Nec puer hic dux erat, sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter,[9] ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinueramus ex foedere,[10] sicut nunc Sa-

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[1] 'Would the treaty with Rome rest in peace.'

[2] The transition from the indirect speech to the direct is in accordance with the lively and expansive style of Livy, and occurs very frequently, sometimes with, sometimes without, *inquit*, which ought in strict propriety always to be used at the commencement of the direct part.

[3] Grammatically we should here have *ultae sunt*, agreeing with *Romanae legiones;* but out of these words we must supply *Romani*. The supplement of the substantive out of an adjective is frequent enough, and here *Romanae legiones* stands for *legiones Romanorum*.

[4] A most insulting question, which shows that the speaker was influenced by no lively patriotism. If Hanno really spoke thus, it is certainly not to be wondered at that he was listened to *adverso senatu*. But it is much more probable that Livy, from his own Roman feeling, puts such words in the mouth of the Carthaginian.

[5] Ironical, as is easily seen.

[6] *Res repetere*, the ordinary expression for 'to demand satisfaction for an injury.'

[7] 'Let us not bring our state under the charge of breaking the treaty'—Hannibal having already exhibited *privata fraus*.

[8] In the year 242 B.C., the Carthaginians had been defeated by the Romans in a naval battle near the Aegatian islands, and this led to the peace and the evacuation of the town of Eryx, as well as of the other cities of Sicily which had hitherto held out.

[9] 'A second Mars:' in Hanno's opinion, of course, he was nothing of the kind. *Isti* points contemptuously to the speaker's opponents in the senate—the Barcine faction. See Zumpt, § 701, *sub fin.*

[10] Hanno mentions as the original ground of the first Punic war, which was so disastrous for the Carthaginians, their attempt to ob-

gunto non abstinemus. Vicerunt ergo dii hominesque; et id, de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset, eventus belli, velut aequus judex, unde jus stabat, ei victoriam dedit.[1] Carthagini nunc Hannibal vineas turresque admovet; Carthaginis moenia quatit ariete. Sagunti ruinae (falsus utinam vates sim) nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dedemus ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias.[2] Sed et Hamilcarem eo[3] perisse laetatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum jam cum Romanis haberemus; et hunc juvenem tamquam furiam facemque hujus belli odi ac detestor. Nec dedendum solum id piaculum rupti foederis, sed si nemo deposcat, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandumque eo unde nec ad nos nomen famaque ejus accidere[4] neque ille sollicitare quietae civitatis statum[5] possit. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos, qui senatui satisfaciant; alios, qui Hannibali nuncient ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant: tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno.'

11. Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare ora-

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tain possession of Tarentum, which was an infringement of the treaty; for it had been stipulated that they should refrain from making any conquests in Italy. The circumstance occurred at the conclusion of the war between the Romans and King Pyrrhus. After the departure of the king the Romans besieged Tarentum, whereupon a Carthaginian fleet appeared near the harbour, and the commander offered assistance to the Tarentines. This compelled the Romans to grant the townsmen more advantageous conditions of surrender than they otherwise would have done. And this dispute appears, at least according to Hanno's representations, to have been the occasion of further hostilities between the two nations. Livy spoke on this subject at greater length in the fourteenth book, which is now lost; for we find in the epitome the following sentence:—*Carthaginiensium classis auxilio Tarentinis venit, quo facto ab iis foedus violatum est.*

[1] The sentence should properly, in accordance with its commencement, have concluded thus—*eventus belli, velut aequus judex, dijudicavit (decrevit), cum ei parti victoriam daret, unde jus stabat.* The author, however, contracts these last clauses into one, thus depriving the beginning—*id de quo verbis ambigebatur*—of a grammatical connection. *Jus stat ab aliquo*, 'the right is one's side.' See Zumpt, § 301, *b*.

[2] *Inimicitiae* is commonly used only in the plural. See *Gram.* § 77, note 5.

[3] Connect *eo* and *quod*, 'on this account that' or 'because.'

[4] 'Reach.'

[5] *Status* means not only 'state,' but also 'stability'—that is, the safe and well-ordered state.

tione cum eo necesse fuit: adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat, infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium[1] legatum Romanum. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse: populum Romanum injuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginiensium societati praeponat.[2]

Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliis operibusque habebat, paucorum iis[3] dierum quietem dedit, stationibus ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando nunc spe praemiorum accendit. Ut vero pro contione[4] praedam captae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt, ut si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini ut a proeliis quietem habuerant, nec lacessentes nec lacessiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte non die unquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent.[5] Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior[6] quam ante adorta est; nec qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, cum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis omnia munimenta urbis superans altitudine agebatur, hortator aderat. Quae cum admota, catapultis ballistisque[7] per omnia tabulata dis-

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[1] The family name put before the gentile: this occurs sometimes in Livy, and frequently in later authors. See Zumpt, § 797.

[2] *Saguntinos—praeponat* should in strict propriety have been *Saguntinorum foedus praeponat*, but the author mentions the men instead of the thing belonging to them. Regarding this common practice, see Zumpt, § 767. As to the fact, it is true that treaties, not alliances, however, were concluded between Rome and Carthage in very early times; for Polybius mentions one in the first year of the Roman republic, 509 B.C.

[3] A *constructio ad sensum*, the preceding *miles* being used collectively for *milites*.

[4] Almost = *in contione*. See Zumpt, § 311.

[5] A comprehensive expression, implying two distinct ideas—the repair of the old wall, and the building of a new.

[6] 'Considerably more violent;' *aliquanto* strengthens, as *paulo* weakens.

[7] *Catapultae* and *ballistae* are two kinds of *tormenta* (lit. 'turning engines'), frequently mentioned, by which heavy masses were thrown against the enemy; the catapults propelling lances, darts, and other *tela* in a horizontal direction, whilst the ballists threw stones archwise. It is plain, therefore, that if the tower which moved on wheels had several stories, the catapults must have been placed on the lower floors, and the ballists on the uppermost, which was open. It

positis, muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem ratus[1] quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo murum mittit. Nec erat difficile opus, quod caementa non calce durata erant sed interlita luto,[2] structurae antiquae genere. Itaque latius quam caederetur ruebat, perque patentia ruinis[3] agmina armatorum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt, collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe velut arcem imminentem haberent, muro circumdant. Et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum capta urbis parte ducunt. Utrimque summa vi et muniunt et pugnant: sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione, et minuitur expectatio externae opis, cum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent.[4] Paulisper tamen affectos animos[5] recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi delectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus,[6] metum defectionis cum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma.

12. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat, Maharbale Himilconis filio (eum praefecerat Hannibal) ita impigre rem

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may be remarked that the later authors use *ballista* in a general sense, comprehending the *catapulta*.

[1] 'Thinking this to be the most favourable moment.'

[2] 'Because the stones had not been united into one hard mass by lime, but the interstices had merely been filled up with clay.' *Caementa* are hewn stones, irregular, however, and small. These were *interlita luto*—that is, clay was daubed in between them; for in Latin *interlinere* is used with the accusative of the thing bedaubed, and therefore has it for its subject in the passive—thus, *litterae interlinuntur*, 'letters are written between the lines,' *murus bitumine interlinitur*, 'the wall is bedaubed with bitumen between its single stones.'

[3] 'Through the opening made by the fall of the wall.' *Patentia*, the neuter plural of the participle *patens*, is here used substantively, but retains from its verbal construction the instrumental ablative, or, we may say, *per patentia ruinis* is the same as *per loca quae ruinis patebant*.

[4] 'As the Romans—their only hope—were so far distant, and all the country round was in the power of the enemy.' *Circa* is used adjectively, for *quae circa erant*, as very frequently in Livy.

[5] 'Their weakened courage,' for *affici* is thus used absolutely, an ablative of something disadvantageous being understood; for instance, *morbo* or *malo*.

[6] *Conquisitores* were recruiting officers, sent out to enroll men liable to military service.

agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives[1] nec hostes sentirent. Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit. et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem[2] extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque proelium cum multorum utrimque caede initum, et pars arcis capta est.

Tentata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco inscius Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus,[3] cum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae movebant condicionesque tristes[4] ut ab irato victore ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore[5] factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum affirmans qui sub condicionibus his[6] de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem redderent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent ubi Poenus jussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos ubi alia vincantur[7] affirmans, se pacis ejus interpretem fore pollicetur. Erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice[8] Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium, transgressus munimenta ad praetorem Saguntinum (et ipse ita jubebat) est deductus. Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis

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[1] Supply *sui*—that is, the Carthaginians, whose leader he was, 'his fellow-citizens, countrymen.'

[2] We read here for the first time of a citadel in Saguntum. In all the cities of antiquity, however, there was one part, commonly situated higher than the rest, which was fortified with peculiar strength, being intended as the last place of defence. Thus Rome had its citadel on the Capitoline Hill, and Carthage its Brysa.

[3] 'That he would effect something.' As to the omission of *se*, see *Gram.* § 385, note 1. *Eum* is omitted with the same tense, the future infinitive active, near the end of the present sentence.

[4] *Tristis* is frequently transferred from persons to grievous or annoying things. The imperfect after *postquam* must be noticed. Its use here is perfectly correct, pointing to the actions as in progress.

[5] *Orator* means here, as often, 'a delegate' or 'envoy;' for though Alco had not properly been sent by the Saguntines, still he conducted himself as if he were an ambassador.

[6] *Sub condicionibus his* is not so common as the simple ablative. The *sub* here retains somewhat of its tense of 'burthen-bearing.' See Zumpt, §§ 319 and 472, note 1, middle.

[7] 'Where other things (such as walls and towers) are conquered, souls (resolutions), too, are overcome.'

[8] 'A *hospes* of the Saguntine state;' for we read frequently in ancient history of single individuals being public *hospites* of a city: thus, for instance, Rome formed a *hospitium* with Timasitheus the Liparensian, because he had delivered a golden cup, sent by the Romans to Delphi, out of the hands of pirates. See Liv., v. 28.

generis hominum esset factus, summota cetera multitudine senatus Alorco datus est,[1] cujus talis oratio fuit.

13. 'Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad vos rettulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venissem.[2] Cum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem (si metum simulavit, sua; vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus),[3] ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hospitio quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem causa me, nec ullius alterius, loqui quae loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit,[4] quod neque dum[5] vestris viribus restitistis, neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis unquam apud vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla est spes,[6] nec vestra vos jam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem affero ad vos magis necessariam quam aequam. Cujus ita aliqua spes est, si eam quemadmodum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audiatis; si non id quod amittitur in damno, cum omnia victoris sint, sed quicquid relinquitur pro munere habituri estis.[7] Urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum assignaturus, in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et

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[1] The expression *senatum dare* (or *praebere*) *alicui* means, 'to hold a meeting of the senate for some one,' or frequently merely 'to grant one an audience of the senate.' He who demands such an audience is said *postulare senatum*.

[2] 'This journey of mine would have been superfluous, on which I have come neither as an ambassador of Hannibal, nor as a deserter.' In Latin. however, he says *venissem*, connecting this clause with the apodosis, *supervacaneum fuisset iter*.

[3] 'By your fault, if those who tell the truth incur danger with you.' Had the author wished to preserve strict similarity in the two antithetical clauses, the arrangement of the first would have been *sua, si metum simulavit*. But this order is frequently and intentionally departed from, in order that the words on which the antithesis principally rests may be next each other, as here *sua* and *vestra*. Compare chap. 21, note.

[4] 'Let this be my credential.' For the principle on which the Latins say *ea fides sit* instead of *id fides sit*, see *Gram.* § 232, 3.

[5] *Dum* is here 'so long as.'

[6] *Postquam—est* may appear a strange construction: the strangeness, however, lies not in the present, but in the use of *postquam* = *ex quo*, 'since.' A construction more suitable to the signification of *postquam*, would have been *postquam eo ventum est, ut—sit*.

[7] 'There is some hope of your obtaining peace upon these conditions, that you be willing to listen, as conquered people, to the terms which Hannibal proposes, and to consider not what you lose as detriment, but what is left to you as a gift.'

argentum omne, publicum privatumque, ad se jubet deferri: conjugum vestraque corpora ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis[1] vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire. Haec victor hostis imperat; haec, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid ex his rebus remissurum. Sed vel haec patienda censeo potius quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora vestra conjuges ac liberos belli jure sinatis.'[2]

14. Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum collatum in ignem ad id raptim factum conjicientes, eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio[3] totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat; perque ruinam ejus cohors Poenorum impetu facto cum signum imperatori dedisset[4] nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal, totis viribus aggressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato[5] ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est: cui enim parci potuit ex iis, qui aut inclusi cum conjugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos[6] concremaverunt,

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[1] The expression used before was *cum singulis vestimentis*. As it is not to be supposed that the author, in so short an interval, could have forgotten what he said, we must assume that Hannibal either meant to allow the Saguntines to take a suit of clothes with them, besides that which they were wearing at the time, or at least that Alorcus so understood him. If the latter is the case, Hannibal uses the preposition *cum* in a different sense from Alorcus.

[2] *Potius quam—sinatis*, 'before you permit,' or 'rather than that you should permit.'

[3] *Trepidatio* expresses 'an irresolute running hither and thither,' whilst the verb *tremere* denotes the shivering of people remaining in their place.

[4] The Carthaginian cohort which had forced its way into the citadel gave a signal that, so far as could be seen from its lofty position, the walls of the lower part of the city were unguarded; and for this reason they demanded that they should be supported from without in an attack upon the town.

[5] *Signum* here is not 'a signal,' but 'a short order,' 'a watchword,' which passed from rank to rank. It is not unfrequently used in this sense—for instance, in ii. 20, *dat signum ut, quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habeant*. So here we can conceive the word to have been, 'Let all the men be slain!'

[6] 'Over their own heads.'

aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt?[1]

15. Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria[2] corrupta erant, et in caedibus vix ullum discrimen aetatis ira fecerat,[3] et captivi militum praeda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constat, et multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque[4] missam Carthaginem.

Octavo mense quam[5] coeptum oppugnari, captum Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde mense quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse. Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit ut P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint, et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non coeptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servilii et C. Flaminii non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus ab Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.[6]

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[1] 'Who did not give up fighting till they were slain.'

[2] *De industria*, 'intentionally,' 'on purpose.' As to *de* expressing manner, see Zumpt, § 308, *sub fin.*

[3] Though Hannibal had commanded that they should kill only adults, not children.

[4] *Vestis* is often used collectively of all woven stuffs.

[5] For *octavo mense postquam*. See Zumpt, § 477.

[6] Livy's reasoning is quite correct; and as the excellent Greek historian of these times, Polybius, is one of those who, as Livy says, extend the duration of the siege of Saguntum to eight months, and assign five months to Hannibal's march from New Carthage to Italy, Livy would have been perfectly justified in doubting the statement made in chapter 6—that, at the time when the news of the siege of Saguntum were brought to Rome, P. Cornelius and Ti. Sempronius were consuls, and in putting in place of these names those of their predecessors M. Livius and L. Aemilius Paulus (consuls of the year 219 B.C.). For it is as improbable that the siege lasted a shorter time, as that the battle of the Trebia was fought not in the year 218, but 217 B.C. *Pugna excedit in annum*, 'a battle reaches into (that is, belongs to, falls in) a year.' *Creare consulem* is said of the president at the Comitia where a consul is elected.

16. Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Carthagine, Romam rettulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nunciatum est; tantusque simul maeror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne[1] et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses metusque de summa rerum[2] cepit, velut si jam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent.[3] Nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremque secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam desidem unquam fuisse atque imbellem.[4] Sardos Corsosque et Istros atque Illyrios lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum.[5] Poenum hostem veteranum, trium et viginti annorum[6] militia durissima, inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo assuetum, recentem ab excidio

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[1] 'Pity for the allies butchered in a revolting manner.' *Indigne* is a strong word, meaning much more than is given by the weak translation, 'in an unworthy manner.' It expresses the violation of the rights of humanity.

[2] *Summa rerum*, pretty much the same as *respublica*, 'the highest interests of the state,' 'the public weal.'

[3] 'Their minds wavered (were undecided) rather than deliberated what was to be done.' As to *trepidare*, see chap. 14, p. 199, note 3.

[4] To account for the state of mind just described, Livy gives us the thoughts of the Romans in the *oratio obliqua*, which is to be explained by supplying some verb of thinking or declaring, such as perhaps *putabant* or *existimabant*. See *Gram.* § 388. The reproach which, according to Livy, the Romans raised against themselves, that the state had become unwarlike, must rather be attributed to the liveliness of their feelings than set down as a truth. The wars with the Gauls at least had been both difficult and dangerous, and had by no means permitted them to remain in unwarlike ease.

[5] It was a peculiar usage of the Romans to call the wars with the Gauls on the Po by the name of *tumultus*—not with the view of lessening their importance but rather to indicate the suddenness of the attacks made by these warlike tribes, and the constant state of watchfulness in which the Romans had to be. The islands of Sardinia and Corsica were subdued after small, but long-continued and obstinate wars. The Istri—inhabitants of a district bordering on the Veneti, where now are situated Trieste, Cápe d'Istria, Fiumé, and Pola—were conquered in the year 221 B.C. The Illyrians—inhabitants of the east coast of the Adriatic, from Dyrrhachium northwards, and of the numerous islands situated off this coast—were conquered in the year 229 B.C., and compelled to give up piracy. Livy would probably have mentioned here the wars carried on at this time with the Ligurians, had not his object been to speak slightingly of the Romans.

[6] Livy reckons the whole time between the first and second Punic wars as a time of war for the Cathaginians, during which their soldiers had become veterans.

opulentissimae urbis, Iberum transire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos, conciturum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes. Cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.

17. Nominatae jam antea consulibus provinciae erant: tum sortiri jussi: Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretae legiones, et socium[1] quantum ipsis videretur, et classis quanta parari posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum milia sunt scripta, et mille octingenti equites; sociorum quadraginta milia peditum, quattuor milia et quadringenti equites; naves ducentae viginti quinqueremes, celoces viginti deducti.[2] Latum inde ad populum, vellent juberent[3] populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici. Ejusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem habita, atque adorati dii, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret[4] quod bellum populus Romanus jussisset. Inter consules ita copiae divisae. Sempronio datae legiones duae (ea[5] quaterna milia erant peditum et treceni equites) et sociorum sexdecim milia peditum, equites mille octingenti; naves longae centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Poenum consul alter satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia L.

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[1] Livy varies in this chapter between *socium* and *sociorum* as forms of the genitive. See *Gram.* § 58, note 5. The cohorts of the *socii* were not *conscriptae*, but *imperatae*—that is, orders were issued to the cities of the allies, which were to send up their contingent for that year. This contingent usually consisted of four or five hundred, or even more, foot-soldiers, and from one to two hundred cavalry in each cohort. The number of *socii* this year is much greater than that of conscribed citizens, particularly in cavalry; for the Roman horsemen, though very active and gallant, were but few in number, being all among the wealthiest men in the state.

[2] We follow the best manuscripts in reference to the gender of *celox*, which in Livy, xxxvii. 27, also, is masculine. The common reading here is *deductae*, which is easily explained by applying *naves*. The originally Greek word, *κέλης*, which has the same meaning, is decidedly masculine. *Celox* means, as an adjective, 'swift,' and substantively, 'a small swift boat, a yacht.'

[3] The ordinary form of proposals made to the Roman people, with two nearly equivalent words. The subjunctive is to be explained by supplying *ut:* elsewhere, however, Livy says, *vellent juberentne*, 'whether they willed and commanded,' the interrogative particle being subjoined to the second word, because *velle jubere* stands for one verb.

[4] Supply *bellum* as subject out of the following clause. See Zumpt, § 814.

[5] *Ea,* not *eae.* See Zumpt, § 372, and compare *Gram.* § 232, 3.

Manlius praetor et ipse[1] cum haud invalido praesidio in Galliam mittebatur. Navium maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus. Sexaginta quinqueremes datae (neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli[2] dimicaturum hostem credebant) et duae Romanae legiones cum suo justo equitatu[3] et quattuordecim milibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sexcentis. Duas legiones Romanas et decem milia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios, sexcentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum[4] habuit.

18. His ita comparatis, ut omnia justa[5] ante bellum fierent, legatos majores natu, Q. Fabium, M. Livium, L. Aemilium, C. Licinium, Q. Baebium,[6] in Africam mittunt ad percunctandos Carthaginienses publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset; et si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent[7] publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani[8] postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset, et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum quod mandatum erat percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus 'Praeceps vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit,[9] cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis: ceterum haec legatio verbis adhuc[10] lenior est, re asperior. Tunc

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[1] 'Also.' Zumpt, § 698.

[2] *Bellum* here is 'warlike power.'

[3] 'With their regular cavalry'—that is, three hundred each.

[4] 'Which (province) had turned in the same direction, towards the war with Hannibal,' 'in the same direction'—namely, as Scipio.

[5] *Omnia justa* are 'all the formalities established by law or custom.'

[6] Q. Fabius, the same who was afterwards dictator, and distinguished as *Cunctator.* He had already been consul twice, in the year 233, and 228 B.C. M. Livius and L. Aemilius were the consuls of the year before this, 219 B.C. C. Licinius is unknown, but was probably a *vir praetorius.* Q. Baebius had been sent before (chap. 6) as an ambassador to Hannibal and to Carthage.

[7] *Defendere* is here used with reference to Hannibal, and implies at the same time the idea of 'saying.'

[8] A more ordinary connection and arrangement of the words would have been *Romanis, postquam venerunt, cum senatus datus esset,* or *cum Romanis, postquam Carthaginem venerunt, datus esset senatus;* but the arrangement chosen by Livy can also be defended, on account of the emphasis which rests on *Romani.*

[9] 'Your former embassy also was rash' (lit. 'headlong'). *Et* is = *etiam;* or rather we must assume that the author intended to go on with another *et*, *et praesens haec legatio*, but substituted another expression with *ceterum.*

[10] 'As yet'—that is, 'as far as you have yet spoken.'

enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur: nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur, et ut a confessis res extemplo repetuntur.[1] Ego autem non privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit quaerendum censeam,[2] sed utrum jure an injuria. Nostra enim haec quaestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, nostro an suo fecerit arbitrio: vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne per foedus[3] fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est[4] a C. Lutatio consule ictum, in quo cum caveretur utrorumque sociis[5] nihil de Saguntinis (necdum enim erant socii vestri) cautum est. At enim[6] eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici. Vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus[7] icit, quia neque auctoritate Patrum nec populi jussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri: itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio ictum est.[8] Si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut jussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedus, quod nobis insciis icit, obligare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Iberi mentionem facere, et quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat.' Tum Romanus sinu ex toga facto 'hic' inquit 'vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet,

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[1] The Carthaginian orator shows that the snappish question—'Has Hannibal acted by your orders, or at his own discretion?'—implies, in whatever way it may be answered, a demand for satisfaction; since, if room be allowed for further parley, the next question will be—'For what reasons have you destroyed Saguntum?'

[2] 'I might think,' the subjunctive expressing an apparently modest, but here perhaps ironical doubt.

[3] 'According to the treaty.'

[4] 'Let me remind you,' or 'let me tell you'—the logical apodosis to the clause with *quoniam* is omitted here, as frequently in a lively speech or narrative. See Zumpt, § 772.

[5] 'Though the safety of both parties was agreed to.' As to *Caveo tibi*, see *Gram.* § 264, note 2.

[6] 'But, my opponent may say.' See Zumpt, § 349, *init.*

[7] *Quod foedus—eo.* As to this construction, see Zumpt, § 814, *fin.*

[8] The statement is correct. C. Lutatius concluded the peace in 241 B.C., upon the understanding that the senate and people of Rome would ratify it. They did not do so, however, but added the condition that the Carthaginians should pay one thousand talents more, and should give up possession of the islands between Italy and Sicily. But the conclusion which our orator draws from this is not sound, for the explanation of the Romans followed immediately; whereas the Carthaginians had never in any way protested against the treaty concluded by Hasdrubal.

sumite.' Sub hanc vocem[1] haud minus ferociter, daret utrum vellet, succlamatum est. Et cum is iterum[2] sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset. accipere se omnes responderunt, et quibus acciperent animis, iisdem se gesturos.

19. Haec directa percunctatio ac denunciatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est, quam de foederum jure verbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa.[3] Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset,[4] quid foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutatii priore foedere, quod mutatum est, comparandum erat, cum in Lutatii foedere diserte[5] additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset; in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo comprobatum sit foedus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur. Quamquam etsi priore foedere staretur,[6] satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis.[7] Nam neque additum erat, iis qui tunc essent, nec ne qui postea assumerentur. Et cum assumere novos liceret socios, quis aequum censeret aut ob nulla quemquam[8] merita in amicitiam recipi, aut receptos in fidem non defendi? tantum ne Carthaginiensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem, aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur.

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae imperatum

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[1] 'Upon this proposal'—that is, 'immediately after this proposal.' Zumpt, § 319.

[2] *Iterum*, 'for the second time,' refers to the repeated symbolical use of the toga.

[3] The feminine *excisa*, which is established by the manuscripts, leads us to the form *Saguntus*, corresponding to the Greek name Ζάκυνθος, from which, as has been mentioned in chapter 7, the name of the city was said to be derived. We not unfrequently find the names of towns in different forms and different genders: as *Caulon*, masculine; and *Caulonia*, feminine. Compare *Gram.* § 43, with notes.

[4] 'For, if the matter came to a dispute in words.'

[5] 'Expressly,' *expressis verbis*.

[6] 'Even if the former treaty (that of Lutatius ratified by the senate) were adhered to.' As to *stare aliqua re*, see Zumpt, § 452.

[7] 'By the stipulation that the allies of both parties should be excepted;' namely, from the number of those against whom war might be carried on, or who might be incorporated with the empire of either nation.

[8] 'That no one (no tribe), on account of any good desert, should be received into the friendship of the two contracting nations (Romans and Carthaginians),—for it comes to the same thing whether we say *nullum ulla ob merita*, or *nulla ob merita quemquam;* only the negation must come first. See Zumpt, § 709. *Tantum ne*, 'provided only that not'=the more common *dummodo ne*, or *modo ne*. See *Gram.* § 350, note 2.

erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, ut[1] in societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Poenis, trajecerunt. Ad Bargusios[2] primum venerunt, a quibus benigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans Iberum populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae erexerunt. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio respondit. 'Quae verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos[3] uti vestram Carthaginiensium amicitiae praeponamus, cum qui id fecerunt, Saguntinos crudelius, quam Poenus hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis?[4] Ibi quaeratis[5] socios censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est. Hispanis populis, sicut lugubre, ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae erunt, ne quis fidei Romanae aut societati confidat.' Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum jussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequicquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt.

20. In his[6] nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati (ita mos gentis erat) in concilium venerunt. Cum verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Poeno bellum Italiae inferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus majoribusque natu juventus sedaretur: adeo stolida impu

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[1] This clause, *ut perlicerent*, depends on the preceding *ut adirent* —an awkward and clumsy construction: 'to visit the states, in order that they might induce them to become allies.'

[2] We know nothing either of the Spanish tribe or of the Volciani, who are mentioned next. It is plain, however (indeed, as to the Bargusians, Livy, in chap. 23, mentions the fact), that they belonged to those tribes which were settled between the Pyrenees and the Iberus (Ebro); for the efforts of the Roman ambassadors could extend only over this part of Spain, since, had they crossed the Ebro, they might justly have been punished by the Carthaginians. Livy's casual statement that *taedebat eos imperii Punici*, and that the minds of many tribes beyond the Iberus were excited by the Roman ambassadors, may be supposed to contradict our theory. Their hatred of the Punic government, however, need not be referred to experience, but to the fear of what was clearly imminent; and the inclination of a tribe on this side of the Iberus towards the Romans might very well stir up others beyond the river.

[3] 'Are you not ashamed, Romans, to demand?'

[4] 'Since you, the allies of the Saguntines, have more cruelly betrayed them than the Carthaginian, their enemy, has destroyed them.'

[5] See *Gram.* § 352, note 1, for *censeo* is=*suadeo.*

[6] Namely, *Gallis*, according to that confusion of the names of countries with the inhabitants, of which examples are numerous. Caesar, too, mentions this custom of the Gauls in *Bell. Gall.*, v. 56.

densque postulatio visa est, censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id advertere[1] in se agrosque suos pro alienis populandos objicere. Sedato tandem fremitu responsum legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium injuriam, ob quae aut pro Romanis aut adversus Poenos sumant arma. Contra ea audire sese gentis suae homines agris finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano, stipendiumque pendere, et cetera indigna pati.[2] Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis dicta auditaque; nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve satis prius auditum quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita,[3] praeoccupatos jam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse: sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore (adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse), ni subinde[4] auro, cujus avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur. Ita peragratis Hispaniae et Galliae populis legati Romam redeunt, haud ita multo postquam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem in expectationem belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama jam Iberum Poenos tramisisse.[5]

21. Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem novam in hiperna concesserat, ibique auditis quae Romae quaeque Carthagine acta decretaque forent,[6] seque non ducem solum, sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis divenditisque reliquiis praedae nihil ultra differendum ratus, Hispani generis[7] milites convocat. 'Credo ego vos,' inquit, 'socii, et ipsos[8] cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniae populis, aut finiendam

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[1] 'It seemed such a foolish and brazen-faced demand to think that the Gauls would turn the war upon themselves, in order not to let it pass through to Italy.' In the direct speech we should have *censebant, Galli adverterent bellum in se*, and from this, in the indirect, *censere, Gallos advertere.*

[2] 'And were suffering the other indignities of that kind.' This refers to the expulsion of the *Galli Senones* from their territory between the Roman colonies of Ariminum and Sena, on the Adriatic, in consequence of an agrarian law passed by the tribune Flaminius in 225 B.C.

[3] 'There they learned everything, which had been carefully and faithfully investigated by their allies.' The city of Massilia (now Marseilles) had been for a long time connected with Rome by an *aequum foedus*—that is, a league of mutual friendship and independence; and after this period the Massilians were faithfully assisted by the Romans against the neighbouring Ligurian and Gallic tribes.

[4] *Subinde,* 'from time to time, repeatedly.' Zumpt, § 276.

[5] Or *transmisisse.* Zumpt, § 326, *fin.*

[6] For *essent.* *Gram.* § 137, note 4.

[7] *Genus* here, as not unfrequently, for *gens.*

[8] 'You likewise,' as well as I.

nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse, aut in alias terras transferendum bellum: ita enim hae gentes non pacis solum, sed etiam victoriae bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus praedam et gloriam quaeremus. Itaque cum longinqua ab domo instet militia, incertumque sit quando domos vestras et quae cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum suos invisere vult, commeatum do.[1] Primo vere edico assitis, ut diis bene juvantibus bellum ingentis gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus.' Omnibus fere visendi domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat, et jam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus desiderium.[2] Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut jam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo ad edictum convenere.

Hannibal cum recensuisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gadis[3] profectus Herculi vota exsolvit; novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prospera[4] evenissent. Inde partiens curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque[5] itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido praesidio firmare eam statuit. Pro eo supplementum ipse ex Africa, maxime jaculatorum, levium armis, petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, in Africa Hispania,[6] melior procul ab domo

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[1] 'I give leave of absence,' no doubt continuing their pay: for therein consisted the pleasure of such a furlough; and by this means Hannibal gained the affections of his Spanish soldiers.

[2] 'And seeing before them a longer absence for the future'—for *desiderium* is 'the longing to see the absent.'

[3] The form of the accusative plural of the third declension in *is* for *es* (*Gram.* § 69) was retained particularly in several names of towns—as, for instance, *Sardis*. The city of Gades (now Cadiz), in the extreme south-west of Spain, was an ancient Phoenician colony, as was shown, amongst other things, by the worship of the Phoenician god Melcarth, whom, on account of his extensive conquests, the Greeks and Romans identified with their Heracles or Hercules. The temple of this Hercules in Gades was visited and famed even in the time of Julius Caesar.

[4] Or *prospere*, for we may use either the adjective or the adverb.

[5] *Galliae* in the plural are the various divisions of the great country inhabited by the Gallic nation. The Romans distinguished first *Gallia Cisalpina* and *Transalpina;* and Transalpine Gaul, again, was divided into four parts—*Gallia Narbonensis*, *Lugdunensis*. *Belgica*, and *Aquitania*. Italy Proper began at that time in the east, on the Adriatic, with the Roman colony of Ariminum; and in the west, on the Tuscan Sea, with the city of Pisae on the Arnus.

[6] Observe the different position of the words in the antithetical clauses. Livy is fond of such a position. See chap. 13, p. 198, note 3, ***si metum simulavit, sua (culpa); vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus.***

futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati, stipendia facerent. Tredecim milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites caetratos[1] misit in Africam, et funditores Baleares[2] octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini praesidio esse, partim distribui per Africam jubet. Simul conquisitoribus[3] in civitates missis, quattuor milia conscripta delectae juventutis, praesidium eosdem et obsides, duci Carthaginem jubet.

22. Neque Hispaniam negligendam ratus, atque ideo haud minus,[4] quod haud ignarus erat, circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos, Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque eum Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Balearibus quingentis. Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices,[5] mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti quinquaginta, et Numidae Maurique accolae Oceani ad mille octingentos, et parva Ilergetum[6] manus ex

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[1] *Pedites caetrati*, foot-soldiers, who, instead of the *scutum* or the *clipeas*, were armed with the *caetra* (or *cetra*), which was a kind of shield peculiar to the Spaniards, probably made of hurdle-work, covered with a stout hide, light, and similar to the Greek *pelta;* for which reason Livy, in xxxi. 36, gives the name of *caetrati* to the Greek peltasts, a kind of infantry, occupying a middle position between hoplites and light-armed troops.

[2] 'Balearic slingers;' for the inhabitants of the Balearic islands, off the south-east coast of Spain, were famed during all antiquity for their skill in throwing with accuracy stones or leaden balls a distance of six hundred paces with the sling (*funda*). For this reason they were, in later times, favourite auxiliaries in the Roman armies.

[3] As to *conquisitores*, see chap. 11, p. 196, note 6.

[4] 'Hannibal, thinking that he must take care of Spain, and must provide for its safety not less (than for that of Africa) for this reason, that he knew,' &c. *Atque idea haud minus* is the manuscript reading, to which we must supply 'to take care of' out of the preceding *non negligendam* = the positive *observandam*. In other editions *haud* is omitted, in which case *negligendam* only is to be supplied.

[5] *Libyphoenices* were those subjects of Carthage who had sprung from marriages between the immigrant Phoenicians and native Africans. They ranked next, therefore, to the proper Carthaginians, the ruling Phoenician citizens of the capital, and probably inhabited the smaller towns in the Carthaginian territory.

[6] The Ilergetes were a considerable Spanish tribe on this side of the Iberus, in the modern district of Catalonia. Their chief town was Ilerda (now Lerida). This little band of two hundred cavalry had no doubt volunteered for pay into the Carthaginian service, for their tribe was not subject to Carthage.

Hispania, ducenti equites, et ne quod terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephanti viginti unus. Classis praeterea data ad tuendam maritimam oram, quia qua parte belli[1] vicerant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae instructaeque remigio[2] triginta et duae quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque.

Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus rediit; atque inde profectus praeter Etovissam urbem ad Iberum maritimamque oram ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete visum ab eo juvenem divina specie, qui se ab Jove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum: proinde sequeretur, neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos. Pavidum primo, nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem, secutum; deinde cura humani ingenii, cum quidnam id esset, quod respicere vetitus esset, agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequivisse; tum vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri[3] ac post insequi cum fragore coeli nimbum. Tum quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset quaerentem audisse, vastitatem Italiae esse: pergeret porro ire, nec ultra inquireret, sineretque fata in occulto esse.

23. Hoc visu laetus tripartito Iberum copias trajecit,[4] praemissis[5] qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia equitum Iberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam,[6] quae subjecta Pyrenaeis montibus est, subegit; oraeque huic omni praefecit Hannonem, ut fauces, quae Hispanias Galliis jungunt, in potestate essent. Decem milia peditum Hannoni ad praesidium obtinendae regionis data, et mille equites. Postquam per Pyrenaeum saltum traduci

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[1] See the same expression in chap. 17. The Romans had gained the decisive victory in the first Punic war by means of their fleet.

[2] Equivalent to *remigibus*. See Zumpt, § 675. Thus only a part of the ships of war left to Hasdrubal was manned and fitted out (*aptae*).

[3] 'Moved along,' of a violent motion.

[4] As to the form of the adverb *tripartito*, 'in three divisions,' see *Gram.* § 219, *b*; and as to the double accusative after verbs compounded with *trans*, see *Gram.* § 251.

[5] *Scil. iis*, which must be supplied out of the following relative clause. This is a very common construction; as, for instance, in the singular, *praemisso qui hostium adventum specularetur*, or, in the plural, *praemissis qui specularentur*. Compare Zumpt, § 765, note.

[6] The chief town of the Lacetani was Solsona (still so called), in the middle of the modern province of Catalonia.

exercitus est coeptus, rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt.[1] Constabat non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae insuperabilique Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps[2] erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi irritarentur, supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipse[3] gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans.

24. Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenaeum transgreditur et ad oppidum Illiberi[4] castra locat. Galli quamquam Italiae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenaeum Hispanos fama erat praesidiaque valida imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati,[5] Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nunciatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens, oratores ad regulos eorum misit, colloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle,[6] et vel illi propius Illiberi accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus facilior esset: nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se laetum,[7] nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum. Hospitem enim se Galliae, non hostem[8] advenisse; nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam venisset. Et per nuncios quidem haec. Ut vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Illiberim extemplo motis haud gra-

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[1] 'Turned away their march;' that is, separated themselves from Hannibal's army.

[2] 'Questionable policy.'

[3] 'Whom he himself also had observed to be oppressed by the military service'—he himself, as well as others, not mentioned here. *Et ipse* is the manuscript reading; the correction *ipsos* gives a good intelligible sense, but does not seem to us necessary.

[4] Now Elne on the river Tech, which in ancient times had the same name as the town, Illiberis. The name of the town, here a neuter indeclinable, is used a little farther on as a feminine in *is*, accusative *im*.

[5] Equivalent to *tumultuose exciti*, 'brought together in confusion.' Ruscino is now La Tour, in the neighbourhood of Perpignan. *Aliquot populi* is in apposition to the subject *Galli*, serving for more precise definition. We might, however, have had *Gallorum aliquot populi*.

[6] The accusative with the infinitive depends on the notion of speaking implied in *oratores misit*, for these verbs are = a verb of declaring. As to the subjunctive *accederent*, and the infinitive *processurum*, see *Gram.* § 370, and Zumpt, § 620.

[7] 'He would willingly receive them into his camp:' *se laetum*, or *libenter accepturum*. See Zumpt, § 682.

[8] A witty choice of words, on account of their resemblance in sound (παρονομασία). See Zumpt, § 822.

vanter[1] ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per fines suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

25. In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Iberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam[2] perlatum erat, cum perinde ac si Alpes jam transisset, Boii sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt,[3] nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper[4] circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente arreptis, in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant assignandum, diffisi Placentiae moenibus, Mutinam[5] confugerint, C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, T. Annius. Lutatii nomen haud dubium est:[6] pro C. Servilio et T. Annio Q. Acilium et C. Herennium

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[1] So the manuscripts read, the editions commonly *gravate.* But both forms are according to analogy, and besides them we have another, *gravatim,* with the same sense.

[2] 'To Rome,' defining more precisely what we are to understand by *in Italiam.* Compare in the preceding chapter *Galli—aliquot populi.*

[3] As to *cum* with the indicative, see *Gram.* § 355.

[4] In the previous year two Latin colonies, each consisting of 6000 men, had been settled in the country on the Po, which had been given up by the Gauls to the Romans. The places chosen for the colonies were Placentia (now Piacenza), on this side of the Po, at the place where the Trebia falls into it; and Cremona, on the other side of the river, and some miles farther down. These were two important fortresses, by which then and afterwards the Roman possessions in the province of Cisalpine Gaul were principally protected. For the settlement of the colonies sent out from Rome—that is, for the assignment of the portions of land, the superintending of the building and fortifying of the town, and the regulation of internal arrangements—some distinguished men were chosen by the Roman people, and invested with military command for several years. Their number was commonly three, the smallest which could constitute a college; and for this reason they are generally called in Latin *tresviri coloniae deducendae:* one of them is called *triumvir*—that is, one of the commission of three; and if anywhere in the manuscripts we find *triumviri* in letters, not *III viri*, this form of the plural can be explained only by an ungrammatical formation directly from the singular. Compare Zumpt, § 124.

[5] Mutina is the modern Modena, south-east from Piacenza, on the road to Bononia (Bologna) and Ariminum (Rimini), where Italy Proper began.

[6] This man had already been consul in the year 220, but in consequence of an informality in his election, had laid down his office. He may have been chosen a *triumvir coloniae deducendae,* as a sort of compensation for his loss.

habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros agrum metantes impetus sit factus.[1] Mutinae cum obsiderentur, et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera,[2] segnis intactis assideret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi;[3] evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad colloquium non contra jus modo gentium, sed violata etiam, quae data in id tempus erat, fide,[4] comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros. Cum haec de legatis nunciata essent et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen[5] ad Mutinam ducit. Silvae tunc circa viam erant, plerisque[6] incultis. Ibi inexplorato[7] profectus, in insidias praecipitatus, multa cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita; et quia Gallis ad temptanda[8] ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quam-

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[1] 'Whether they, being sent as ambassadors to the Boii, to call them to account, were injured (contrary to the law of nations), or an attack was made upon them when, as triumvirs, they were measuring the ground.' The *legati* and the *triumviri* were the same persons, looked upon in different relations; and it is certain that they fell into the hands of the Gauls: the doubtful point is, on what occasion, under what circumstances, and in what capacity, they were attacked.

[2] 'And at the same time also uncommonly slow at military labours.' As to *idem,* when two predicates are given to one subject, see Zumpt, § 697. *Opera* are manual exertions—such as the erection of besieging towers, the throwing up of mounds, and the like: *militaria,* 'such as become, or are necessary to soldiers'—that is, according to the notions of Romans.

[3] Equivalent to *coeperunt simulare se de pace agere;* the passive, however, implies no definite subject, but some such as the French *on,* or German *man.* See *Gram.* § 234, note 1.

[4] 'With the violation of the promise of personal safety, which had been given for that particular time'—that is, the time of the negotiation.

[5] 'The army not in close order;' for *agmen* is an army on the march, just as *acies* is one in battle array; and *effusum* means 'what is not kept together—straggling.'

[6] Ablative from the neuter *pleraque,* 'most of the places,' 'the greater part of the country.'

[7] 'Without reconnoitring.' Adverb formed according to *Gram.* § 219, *b.*

[8] *Temptare* (for this is the correct spelling, instead of the ordinary *tentare;* see Zumpt, § 12, middle) is here=*aggredi,* 'to attempt to gain possession of a thing.

quam ad quingentos[1] cecidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro coeptum; nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis: ubi rursus silvae intratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere.[2] Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis,[3] ut e saltu invio atque impedito evasere. Inde apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tanetum,[4] vicum propinquum Pado, contendere. Ibi se munimento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum[5] etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem hostium tutabantur.

26. Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus, et Punicum insuper Gallico bello auctum patres acceperunt, C. Atilium praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus sociorum, delectu novo a consule conscriptis, auxilium ferre Manlio jubent; qui sine ullo certamine (abscesserant enim metu hostes) Tanetum pervenit.

Et P. Cornelius, in locum ejus, quae missa cum praetore erat, transcripta[6] legione nova profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde Salyum[7] montes pervenit Massiliam, et ad proximum ostium Rhodani (pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare decurrit) castra locat, vixdum satis credens[8] Hannibalem

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[1] 'Towards five hundred'=*prope quingentos*. See Zumpt, § 296, middle.

[2] The termination *ere* for *erunt* is here preferred by the author for reasons unknown to us. This is a variation frequent in the historical style, whereas in Cicero the form *ere* is not used at all.

[3] The position of the words in the one antithetical clause does not correspond with that in the other; see chapter 21, p. 208, note 6.

[4] Unquestionably the village of Taneto, near St. Ilario, on the road between Parma and Reggio (formerly Regium).

[5] The *Galli Brixiani*, in Brixia (now Brescia), belonged to the tribe of the *Cenomani*, who remained faithful to the Romans amid all the Gallic tumults.

[6] *Transcripta* is here used in a novel and contracted manner for *scripta et transducta:* he levied (*scripsit*) a new legion, and sent it beyond the Apennines, to the place formerly occupied by the legion which was now with the praetor at Tanetum. Commonly *transcribere* means 'to transfer from one list to another;' but here the word *novo* indicates the formation of a new legion non-existent before.

[7] The *Salyes* or *Saluvii*, a half-Gallic, half-Ligurian tribe, between the mouth of the Rhone and the Varus (Var), which was the boundary between them and the Ligurians, and forms at present the boundary between France and Italy.

[8] 'Being scarcely yet thoroughly convinced.' The *dum* in the compounds *nondum*, *necdum*, *nihildum*, *vixdum*, agrees in meaning

superasse Pyrenaeos montes. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis refectis ab jactatione maritima[1] militibus, trecentos interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis[2] ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit. Hannibal, ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis, jam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validae. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani: sed diffisi citeriore agro arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum trajectis ulteriorem ripam armis obtinebant.[3] Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal, et eorum ipsorum quos sedes suae tenuerant,[4] simul perlicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque; simul et ipsi trajici exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere[5] ad vicinalem usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes[6] cavabant ex singulis arboribus; deinde et ipsi milites, simul copia materiae simul facilitate operis inducti, alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaque transveherent, faciebant.

27. Jamque omnibus satis comparatis ad trajiciendum,

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with *tum*, 'at that time;' and in connection with negatives, answers to our 'yet.' See Zumpt, § 733.

[1] That is, *a nausea*, 'from sea-sickness,' the cause being put for the effect.

[2] From Polybius we learn that these Gauls were in the service of the Massilians: they were auxiliaries, therefore, not to the Romans, but to the state of Massilia.

[3] Livy uses the terms 'this side,' and the 'farther side' here, indicating their respective positions in relation to Hannibal, though commonly Roman writers, when they use such terms, have the position in relation to Rome in their minds. The Volcae were in later times found only in the country west of the Rhone, where their capital—Nemausus, now Nismes, celebrated for its well-preserved Roman remains—was situated.

[4] 'And those of the Volcae themselves, who had been kept back by their dwellings'—that is, who had remained in their dwellings on the west, or, as Livy calls it, the hither bank. *Eorum* is as much as 'the above-mentioned;' and the demonstrative 'those,' which governs *eorum*, must be taken out of *quos*.

[5] 'Unintentionally'—that is, without any view of their being used in war.

[6] The Gauls set to work first, making boats roughly, which incompleteness and imperfection is properly expressed by the verb *inchoare*.

terrebant ex adverso hostes, omnem ripam equites virique[1] obtinentes; quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei[2] jubet, et ubi primum possit, quam occultissime trajecto amni circumducere agmen, ut cum opus facto sit,[3] adoriatur ab tergo hostem. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent inde milia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum amnem latiorem, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere.[4] Ibi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae, in quibus equi virique et alia onera trajicerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole, in utres vestimentis conjectis, ipsi caetris suppositis incubantes flumen tranavere. Et alius exercitus ratibus junctis trajectus, castris prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco prodito fumo[5] significant se transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad trajiciendum. Jam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres. Equites fere propter equos nantes navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens, tranquillitatem infra trajicientibus lintribus praebebat.[6] Equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur, praeter eos, quos instratos frenatosque,[7] ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, imposuerant in naves.

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[1] *Equites virique*, defining more precisely, and therefore in apposition to *hostes:* see chap. 24, p. 211, note 5. *Viri* here are 'infantry.'

[2] 'To go one day's march up the river.'

[3] 'When it needs to be done.' See *Gram.* § 301, note 1.

[4] 'The Gallic guides, given him for this purpose, informed him that about twenty-five miles up from that place (Hannibal's camp) the river flowed round a small island; and being at the spot where it divided broader, and on that account less deep in the channel, afforded a passage.'

[5] *Prodere fumum=excitare fumum*, with the additional idea of 'from a hidden place'—thus, 'by smoke, which rose from their place of concealment, or from their ambush.'

[6] 'A row of larger ships (as opposed to the *lintres*)—which to receive (and break) the current of the river, carried the cavalry across further up, beside their horses, most of whom were swimming—allowed the boats crossing below a quiet passage.' *Fere* indicates that most of the horses swam beside the ships, on which their riders stood, guiding the animals by the reins: some of the horses, as is mentioned afterwards, were carried over in the vessels saddled and bridled, that they might be ready for use immediately on landing.

[7] 'Saddled and bridled.'

28. Galli occursant in ripam cum variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui, quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dextris tela, quamquam ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum, militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis, et qui ex altera ripa trajicientes suos hortabantur.[1] Jam satis paventes adverso tumultu[2] terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor, castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat, et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente, et ab tergo improvisa premente acie. Galli postquam utroque vim facere conati[3] pellebantur, qua patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt, trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium trajectis, spernens jam Gallicos tumultus[4] castra locat.

Elephantorum trajiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo: certe variata memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam nantem sequeretur,[5] traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente.[6] Ceterum magis constat ratibus trajectos: id ut tutius

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[1] A vivid picture. The Gauls were terrified at the noisy approach of the ships, and by the various shouts of the enemy; both those who were actually crossing and battling with the current, and those who were still standing on the western bank, and encouraging their companions in the boats. Observe the asyndeton *nautarum, militum*, which helps to give life to the picture. See Zumpt, § 783, middle.

[2] 'By the tumult in front.' *Adortus*, with the omission of *est:* 'a still more alarming shout assailed them from behind.'

[3] 'After the Gauls, having attempted a vigorous resistance on both sides (that is, against those who were crossing the river, and against Hanno in their rear), were driven back, they broke through by whatever road presented itself as most open.' As to the form *utroque*, see Zumpt, § 289, and as to *passim*, *Gram.* § 221. *Passim* means 'scattered, in a scattered manner;' that is, 'in many' or 'all places,' but not 'in some few places,' or 'here and there.'

[4] Hannibal despised after this the noisy and threatening but brief risings of the Gauls in arms. This was the view of the Romans, who had often experienced Gallic assaults (properly expressed by the word *tumultus*), and had learned, that if they were quietly but undauntedly resisted, they were truly contemptible.

[5] 'As it followed the keeper, who fled into the water swimming,' *qui nans in aquam refugiebat*. The participle *nans* is retained, even though the *qui refugiebat* is also put into a participial form.

[6] 'Whilst the current itself carried all who, though afraid of the deep water, were deserted by the firm ground, over to the other side.' *Ut quemque destitueret vadum* means literally 'just as the ground deserted each,' but this is=*omnes quos vadum destitueret;*

consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est.[1] Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam, a terra in amnem porrexerunt; quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo injecta constraverunt, ut beluae audacter velut per solum ingrederentur. Altera ratis aeque lata, longa pedes centum, ad trajiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; et cum elephanti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam, praegredientibus feminis, acti in minorem applicatam[2] transgressi sunt,[3] extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter annexa erat, vinculis ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis alii deinde repetiti ac trajecti sunt.[4] Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte agerentur: primus erat pavor, cum soluta ab ceteris rate in altum raperentur.[5] Ibi urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab aqua, trepidationis aliquantum edebant,[6] donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam saevientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere

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only, that by *quisque* the elephants are pointed at singly, and by the conjunction *ut* the moment is indicated at which each slipped off the firm ground, and came under the influence of the current. As to *quisque=omnes*, see Zumpt, § 710; and as to *destitueret*, the subjunctive of repeated action, after participles of times (as here *ut=cum, ubi*), see Zumpt, § 569, and *Gram.* § 360, 8.

[1] 'As this would be a plan affording greater security before its execution. so after the thing has been done, it can more easily be believed;' that is, the plan of carrying over the elephants on floats would, on the one hand, be preferable to the other before its execution, on the score of safety; and, on the other hand, as it is certain that the animals were, in one way or another, taken over, the former plan is more worthy of credit.

[2] 'Into the smaller raft, which had been made fast to the other.'

[3] 'As soon as the elephants had passed into the smaller raft, it was immediately drawn over to the other bank by some light rowboats.' *Cum transgressi sunt* is used as =*cum primum* (*ut primum*) *transgressi sunt.*

[4] 'Others were again gone for, and taken over.' Properly, we could only say *elephanti* (*totus grex elephantorum*) *repetiti et alii trajecti sunt;* for the repetition of the act refers to the elephants in general, not to the remaining part merely.

[5] 'The first disquietude among the elephants arose when, the raft being loosed from the others, they were carried quickly away into the deep water.' To *ceteris* we cannot supply anything but *ratibus*, and we must therefore conceive that the large raft, two hundred feet long, consisted of several firmly tied together. In fact we learn from Polybius, in his account of this crossing, that it actually was so.

[6] 'There a somewhat restless motion arose among them, the animals pressing upon one another, because those furthest out shrunk back from the water.'

ipso stabiles, dejectis rectoribus, quaerendis pedetemptim vadis[1] in terram evasere.

29. Dum elephanti trajiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum, ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid pararent. Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium[2] editur. Nam praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope par utrimque fuit; fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis jam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romani sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenpue belli, ut summae rerum prosperum eventum, ita[3] haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat,[4] nisi ut ex consiliis coeptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet; et Hannibalem incertum, utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet iter, an cum eo qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus[5] manus consereret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore affirmantes integro bello, nusquam ante libatis viribus[6] Italiam aggrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem, nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli;

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[1] 'By cautiously (gropingly) seeking the shallows.' *Pedetemptim* has here quite its original meaning, *pede temptantes*, from which the figurative sense of 'cautiously' readily comes. The ordinary spelling, *tentare* and *pedetentim*, is opposed to the authority of good manuscripts. See Zumpt, § 12.

[2] 'More violent than, considering the small number of the combatants, was to be expected.' *Pro* is 'according to,' 'in proportion to.'

[3] *Ut—ita* here, as not unfrequently, 'indeed—but:' 'this beginning promised to the Romans a fortunate issue of the general war indeed; but at the same time neither a bloodless nor decided (constant) success.

[4] 'Neither could Scipio come to any settled resolution.' The *nec* corresponds with the following *et Hannibalem—avertit*.

[5] Or *cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset, Romano exercitu*. The noun for the principal clause must be taken out of the subordinate. See Zumpt, § 814.

[6] *Libare* means, to take away a part from a gift offered to the gods, and put it out before them, as if for their use; generally, therefore, to lessen a whole by a part which is used for trial. Here the Boii advise Hannibal to invade Italy with his complete forces, without previously spending a part of them, as it were for the sake of a trial, against Scipio.

sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam,[1] metuebat.

30. Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire[2] atque Italiam petere, advocata contione varie militum versat animos castigando[3] adhortandoque. Mirari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror[4] invaserit. Per tot annos vincentes eos stipendia facere, neque ante Hispania excessisse, quam omnes gentesque et[5] terrae, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginiensium essent. Indignatos deinde, quod, quicunque Saguntum obsedissent,[6] velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Iberum trajecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter.[7] Nunc postquam multo majorem partem itineris emensam[8] cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi trajectum, in conspectu Alpes habeant, quarum alterum latus Ita-

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[1] 'A thing by which a report was dreadful, to such as had never made any trial of it.' *Utique*, being compounded of *uti=ut*, and the generalising particle *que*, means properly, 'however things may stand,' therefore 'at all events, positively, certainly, at least,' or some such limiting expression.

[2] 'To march farther,' as in chap. 22, *fin.*, *pergeret porro ire.*

[3] *Castigare*, 'to punish,' which may be done by words, therefore sometimes, either with or without *verbis*, 'to chide,' 'reproach.'

[4] *Quinam repens terror*, 'what sudden fear.' *Repens* is common in Livy, rare in other prose writers, and rather a poetical word for *subitus*. The ablative *repente*, however, as an adverb, occurs very frequently in prose. *Nam* added to the interrogative, in indirect as well as direct speech, gives force and impressiveness to the question.

[5] *Que—et* occurs sometimes in Livy instead of *et—et*, which is much more common. See Zumpt, § 338.

[6] 'All who had besieged Saguntum.' The Romans had not demanded this, but only that the commander-in-chief should be given up. Hannibal, however, in order to excite his soldiers, speaks, both here, and in chap. 44, as if they had all been included in the demand. As to the construction of *postulare* with the infinitive, instead of the more common one with *ut*, see Zumpt, § 613, with note, and *Gram.* § 380, with note 1.

[7] 'When they undertook the journey to the rising of the sun.' A rhetorical exaggeration, as is also the expression, afterwards, that Rome was the capital of the globe. We cannot conceive that Hannibal spoke in such a manner.

[8] 'Completed.' As to the deponent *emetiri*, the perfect participle of which is used passively, see Zumpt, § 632. To the following participles *saltum seperatum*, and *Rhodanum trajectum* supply *cernant* from the preceding clause.

liae sit,[1] in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere, quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines?[2] Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei[3] jugis: nullas profecto terras coelum contingere nec inexsuperabiles humano generi esse. Alpes quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere animantes; pervias paucis esse nec invias exercitibus esse.[4] Eos ipsos quos cernant, legatos non pinnis[5] sublime elatos Alpes transgressos; ne majores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpes ingentibus saepe agminibus[6] cum liberis ac conjugibus, migrantium modo, tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato, nihil secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti, quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse? Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quae adiri posse Poenus desperet.[7] Proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies toties ab se victae, aut itineris

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[1] 'The other side of which belongs to Italy.'

[2] 'Believing the Alps to be what else but mountains (mountain-heights)?'—a question involved in the participial construction = *et cur Alpes aliud esse credant atque*, &c.

[3] The Pyrenees are called by Livy either *mons Pyrenaeus*, or *montes Pyrenaei*, or, omitting the substantive, *Pyrenaeus* or *Pyrenaei*.

[4] 'The Alps could (easily) be crossed by a few, and were not impassable for armies even.' We have here been forced to admit a conjecture into the text; for in the manuscripts the reading is *pervias paucis esse exercitibus*, where it is clear that between *esse* and *exercitibus* one or two words have slipped out. The ordinary reading is *pervias paucis esse, exercitibus invias?*—which gives the same sense in the form of a question. But this form appears to us unsuitable; for, in the first place, there is a very great difference between a few crossing the Alps and a whole army; and, admitting the possibility of the former, that of the latter by no means follows as a matter of course; and, in the second place, such a question was not needed, since the practicability of conducting whole armies over these mountains had been demonstrated by the immigration of the Gauls into Italy.

[5] The manuscripts have *pinnis*, and this is more correct than the ordinary reading *pennis;* for we distinguish between *penna*, 'a feather in general,' and *pinna*, 'a wing-feather or wing.' As to *sublime*, see *Gram.* § 219, 3.

[6] 'In immense hosts.' As to this ablative, see *Gram.* § 293, with note 1, and Zumpt, § 473.

[7] The Gauls had once taken Rome, in 390 B.C., and Hannibal thinks that the Carthaginians need not despair of reaching the point which had been attained by those whom they had so recently conquered.

finem sperent campum interjacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.[1]

31. His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad iter se parare jubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rectior ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset, minus[2] obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in Italiam ventum foret,[3] non erat in animo manus conserere. Quartis castris[4] ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi confluunt in unum: inde mediis campis Insulae nomen inditum.[5] Incolunt prope[6] Allobroges, gens jam inde[7] nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat: regni certamine ambigebant fratres. Major, et qui prius imperitarat, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et coetu juniorum, qui jure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Hujus seditionis peropportuna disceptatio cum ad Hannibalem relata esset,[8] arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium majori restituit. Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adjutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes praeparari cogebant.[9] Sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum cum jam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit, sed

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[1] Namely, the *Campus Martius*, which was included in the city in the time of the emperors, and is now more densely covered with buildings than any other part of Rome.

[2] Fully *tanto minus:* 'the further he was from the sea, he considered himself the less likely to meet the Romans.'

[3] 'Before he should arrive in Italy,' impersonally; see *Gram.* § 234, note 1. The author might have expressed the same idea with *venisset*, by making Hannibal the subject.

[4] 'With the fourth camp;' that is, 'in the fourth day's march.'

[5] The country between the Isere on the south, and the Rhone on the north, west as far as the junction of these two rivers, was called by the Romans, also in later times, the *Insula Allobrogum.* The chief towns of that tribe were Vienna (Vienne) on the Rhone, and Geneva on the *Lacus Lemanus*, near the point where the Rhone flows out of it. The Isère and Rhone flow from different peaks of the mountain range; for *Alpis*, in the singular, means a peak which towers above the other mountains, and the Isère takes its rise on the *Alpis Graia*, the Rhone on the *Mons Adula*, now St. Gothard.

[6] 'Chiefly;' for in the east of this *insula* there were other tribes besides the Allobroges.

[7] 'Already, and from that time forward.'

[8] 'The decision or settlement was referred to Hannibal:' *relata*, a more correct reading than the ordinary *rejecta*.

[9] 'The Alps, notorious for their cold (that is, the report of the cold upon the Alps), rendered it necessary to provide new clothing.' *Vestis*, very often used collectively. See chap. 15, p. 200, note 4.

ad laevam in Tricastinos flexit;[1] inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios,[2] haud usquam impedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu est. Nam cum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites (et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta est via), ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens, nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebet.[3] Et tum forte imbribus auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

32. P. Cornelius consul, triduo fere postquam Hannibal a ripa Rhodani movit,[4] quadrato agmine ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus. Ceterum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum progressos[5] assecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam

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[1] 'He turned to the left to the country of the Tricastini.' If Hannibal marched up along the Rhone to the point where the Isère falls into it, and then turned into the country of the Tricastini, he must have marched to the right: so that Livy, in saying *ad laevam*, looks from Rome, his own stand-point, whereas, looking from the Carthaginians, it was *ad dextram*. The district of the Tricastini lay south-east from the point where the Isère joins the Rhone, and in modern geography is marked by the places of St. Paul Tricastin, and Nions in the French province of Dauphiné. Had Hannibal marched straight forward (*recta regione*) to the Alps, he would then have proceeded up along the Isère to the foot of the Little St. Bernard, and have crossed it; but if, as Livy says, he went south from the Isère, it is most likely that he crossed Mount Genèvre. According to Polybius, whose view is now almost universally adopted, he did go straight forward, and cross the Little St. Bernard.

[2] Hannibal passed only through the south part of the district of the Vocontii, whose chief towns afterwards, and probably even then, were Vasio and Lucus (now Vaison and Le Luc). The Tricorii, at the foot of the way across the Alps, are marked by the situation of Vapincum, now Gap, in Dauphiné. The Druentia, which the Carthaginians found such difficulty in crossing, is now called the Durence.

[3] This mountain torrent divides itself into many parts, and is constantly forming new beds, and thus always affords to the traveller new fords and new deep places (*gurgites*); besides, it rolls down stones mixed with gravel (these are *saxa glareosa*). To *vada et gurgites* supply *praebet*.

[4] As to *moveo* used intransitively, *se* or *exercitum* being omitted, see *Gram.* § 125, note 2.

[5] 'Who had advanced so far.'

sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo qui circa Padum erat exercitu Italiam defensurus.

Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpes cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in majus vero ferri solent, praecepta[1] res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque coelo prope immixtae, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora jumentaque[2] torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaliaque[3] omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani, qui si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam[4] repente ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa jussit; Gallisque ad visenda loca praemissis, postquam comperit transitum ea non esse,[5] castra inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque, quam extentissima potest valle,[6] locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentes, cum se immiscuissent colloquiis montanorum, edoctus interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus.[7] Die deinde simulando aliud quam quod parabatur consumpto,

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[1] *Prius* might have been omitted; for the sense, that the state of things had previously been conceived from report, is implied in the composition of the verb *praecepta erat*. But Livy often strengthens the verbs compounded with *prae* by adverbial additions; thus, in chap. 20, *ante praeoccupare*, and elsewhere *prius praemeditari*, *ante praeparare*, and the like.

[2] *Pecora*, small cattle, intended to be slaughtered and used as food: *armenta* and *jumenta*, animals whose labour man makes use of, beasts of burden and draught.

[3] This is the reading of the manuscripts, and may be defended; for *animal* is properly an adjective neuter, for *animale*: thus 'animate and inanimate.' The ordinary reading *inanimata* is, according to the common usage of the language, correct, but is merely conjectural.

[4] 'And (if they) had then risen up to battle.'

[5] 'That here there was no passage;' that is, that here, with the heights so occupied and defended, there was no possibility of forcing a passage.

[6] 'Among nothing but rugged ravines and steep precipices, in the most extended valley which he could find.'

[7] 'As if he meant to force a passage openly and in the daytime.'

cum eodem quo constiterant loco castra communissent, ubi primum degressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias,[1] pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis, impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum, ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro, raptim angustias evadit,[2] iisque ipsis tumulis quos hostes tenuerant consedit.

33. Prima deinde luce castra mota, et agmen reliquum incedere coepit. Jam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant,[3] cum repente conspiciunt alios arce[4] occupata sua super caput imminentes, alios via transire[5] hostes. Utraque simul objecta res oculis animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit.[6] Deinde ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu[7] misceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quicquid adjecissent ipsi terroris satis ad perniciem fore rati,[8] perversis rupibus,[9] juxta invia ac devia assueti, decurrunt. Tum vero simul ab hostibus simul ab iniquitate locorum Poeni oppugnabantur; plusque

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[1] 'As soon as he observed that the guards had become fewer'—the mountaineers going away one after the other.

[2] 'He goes quickly through the pass.' *Evadere* with the accusative, 'to pass,' different from *evadere aliqua re*, or *ex aliqua re*, which is used when the person has previously been for some time in the thing or state.

[3] The imperfect *conveniebant* expresses that they were just in the act of assembling, when, &c. and besides, that the assembling remained incomplete. See Zumpt, § 500, note 1, middle, and *Gram.* § 335, note 3.

[4] *Arx*, a strong place situated high, and serving for defence.

[5] 'Were passing along the low road.'

[6] 'Compelled them to stand motionless for a short time;' that is, the sight so overpowered them, that they stood motionless with astonishment. *Immobiles defixit=ita defixit, ut immobiles essent*, the state, which resulted, being expressed in an adjective form, and connected closely with the verb.

[7] 'By its (the army's) own confusion.' *Ipse* in the same case as the subject, see Zumpt, § 696, note.

[8] 'Thinking that any alarm, which they themselves might add, would be sufficient for the destruction of the army.' *Quicquid*, 'whether important or unimportant, well-founded or groundless,' or simply, 'any fright.'

[9] *Perversae rupes* are 'rocks turned away;' and the meaning is, that the mountaineers descended by the opposite side of the rocks, which the Carthaginians could not see. The barbarians were 'accustomed alike to impassable places and devious paths.' Here *assuetus* is used with the accusative, elsewhere with the dative or ablative. The accusative is probably to be accounted for by the operation of the *ad* in the participle.

inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente ut periculo prius evaderet,[1] quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussaeque valles[2] augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent. Multosque turba, cum praecipites deruptaeque utrimque angustiae essent, in immensum altitudinis[3] dejecit; quosdam et armatos. Sed ruinae maxime modo jumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur.[4] Quae quamquam foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal[5] ac suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret. Deinde postquam interrumpi agmen vidit, periculumque esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum[6] nequicquam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco, et cum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur; nec per otium modo, sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput ejus regionis erat, viculosque circumjectos capit, et captivo cibo[7] ac pecoribus per tribuum exercitum aluit. Et quia nec montanis primo perculsis[8] nec loco magnopere impediebantur, aliquantum eo triduo viae[9] confecit.

34. Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut

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[1] 'As every one strove for himself that he might escape from the danger, before,' &c.

[2] 'The echoing valleys.' Otherwise *repercutitur clamor*, 'the shout is echoed back.'

[3] 'Into the unfathomable abyss.' See *Gram.* § 275, *c*, note 3.

[4] 'But animals rolled down with their loads very much like the fall (of rocks or buildings). *Modo*, ablative of *modus*, 'in the manner of:' *ruina*, the fall of a building, or of some other lofty erection; for example, a hill.

[5] 'Still Hannibal quietly remained for a little while:' namely, on the height which he had taken.

[6] The participle with a hypothetical sense: 'if the army should be deprived of its baggage.'

[7] *Cibo* is wanting in the manuscripts, probably from its resemblance to the last syllables of the preceding word; at least the omission of *cibo* can be much more easily accounted for than that of *frumento*, which is inserted in other editions.

[8] The mere ablative, *montanis*, 'by the mountaineers, who had at the very beginning been thoroughly frightened,' is remarkable; since elsewhere *ab* is not omitted with persons. Here, however, the ablative of the thing, *loco*, which is connected with *montanis*, seems to have exerted an influence on the construction. Compare *Gram.* § 290, note 2.

[9] *Aliquantum viae*, 'a considerable extent of road.' As to *aliquantum* and *paulum*, see *Gram.* § 275.

inter montana, populum.[1] Ibi non bello aperto, sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis est prope circumventus.[2] Magno natu[3] principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes[4] amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poenorum: itaque obedienter imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet.[5] Hannibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandos ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum respondisset, obsidibus quos dabant acceptis,[6] et commeatu quem in viam ipsi detulerant usus, nequaquam ut inter pacatos, composito agmine duces eorum sequitur.[7] Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant; ipse post cum robore peditum, circumspectans sollicitusque omnia,[8] incedebat. Ubi in angustiorem viam et parte altera subjectam jugo insuper imminenti[9] ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti comminus eminus petunt,[10] saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis

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[1] 'A people abounding in agriculturists,' where *populus* is evidently used for the 'district:' and in reference to this application of the word we have *ut inter montana*, which limits the assertion of multitude; 'so far as mountainous districts can have many agriculturists.'

[2] *Circumvenire*, 'to overreach, overcome.' When the success is gained by open violence, *opprimere* is the more suitable word.

[3] *Magno natu*, 'of great age, aged.' See Zumpt, § 670.

[4] Supply *se*.

[5] 'For the security of their promises (that is, in order that he might place confidence in their promises) he might take hostages.' See *Gram.* § 370.

[6] 'After he had accepted the hostages whom they offered;' that is, after he had stated that he would accept them; for that the barbarians did not actually give hostages, appears from their subsequent attack, and also in the language, from the use of the imperfect *dabant*. Compare page 225, note 3.

[7] 'He follows their guides with the army in regular marching order, and by no means as if he were in a friendly country.' If *incomposito* be read, as in other editions, then *nequaquam* must be joined with it, and not with the subsidiary clause.

[8] The accusative *omnia* belongs to *circumspectans*, or at least is influenced by it; for *sollicitus omnia* would be an unusual construction.

[9] 'Which on the one side ran under a mountain ridge, that hung over it,' or we may say, 'which was commanded by a ridge.'

[10] 'They attack,' or 'made an attack,' used absolutely for *impetum faciunt*. *Comminus eminus* without a conjunction. See Zumpt, § 782.

fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit.[1] Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est: nam dum cunctatur[2] Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliquerat, occursantes per obliqua montani, interrupto medio agmine, viam insedere; noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est.

35. Postero die jam segnius intercursantibus barbaris junctae copiae, saltusque haud sine clade, majore tamen jumentorum quam hominum pernicie, superatus. Inde montani pauciores jam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant, modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utcunque aut locus opportunitatem daret,[3] aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti, sicut per artes praecipites vias[4] magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacunque incederent, quia insuetis[5] adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praedebant.

Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum est, per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus, aut ubi fides iis non esset, temere initae valles a conjectantibus iter faciebant.[6] Biduum in jugo stativa habita, fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; jumentaque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis taedio tot malorum nivis etiam casus, occidente jam sidere Vergiliarum,[7] ingentem terrorem

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[1] 'They made it certain that, if the rear had not been well supported, a great loss would necessarily have followed.' *Quin — clades accipienda fuerit* for *quin clades necessario accepta esset*, but not *accipienda fuisset;* for the indicative *accipienda fuit* has the meaning of a pluperfect subjunctive, and the subjunctive *fuerit* is used simply because the conjunction *quin* precedes. See this subject discussed more at large in Zumpt, § 498, end, and 499, end.

[2] Hannibal continued where he was, and did not follow his cavalry, who had been sent forward, no doubt with the baggage. Thus it happened that the van was separated from the infantry and Hannibal, the barbarians coming in between, and opposing a passage.

[3] The subjunctive of a repeated action. *Gram.* § 360, 8.

[4] 'Narrow steep roads.' More commonly *artas praecipitesque.*

[5] Supply *hominibus*, 'men who were unaccustomed to the sight of elephants.'

[6] 'Wanderings which . . . the valleys that they entered at random, when they were guessing out the way themselves, caused.' When the Carthaginians distrusted their guides, they were forced to seek out the road themselves by conjecture, and thus entered at random into valleys, which led to the point they wished to reach only by circuitous roads.

[7] The setting (*occasus*) of the constellation called *Vergiliae* or

adjecit. Per omnia nive oppleta cum signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, praegressus signa Hannibal in promontorio[1] quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere jussis militibus Italiam ostentat subjectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, moeniaque eos tum transcendere[2] non Italiae modo sed etiam urbis Romanae. Cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut summum[3] altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros. Procedere inde agmen coepit, jam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parva furta per occasionem temptantibus. Ceterum[4] iter multo, quam in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita arrectiora[5] sunt, difficilius fuit. Omnis enim ferme via praeceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se a lapsu possent, nec qui paululum titubassent, haerere afflicti vestigio suo, aliique super alios, et jumenta et homines, occiderent.[6]

36. Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem, atque ita rectis saxis, ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese posset.[7] Natura locus jam ante praeceps recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus erat. Ibi cum velut ad finem viae equites constitissent, miranti Hannibali quae res moraretur agmen, nunciatur rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa, quin per invia circa nec trita antea, quamvis longo ambitu, circumduceret agmen.[8]

Pleiades indicated in Italy the commencement of winter, its rising, (*ortus*) the beginning of summer.

[1] 'On a projecting peak of the mountain;' for from the ordinary level of the top of the Alps, the plains below cannot be seen.

[2] The accusative with the infinitive depends upon the idea of saying, which is implied in *ostentat*.

[3] 'At most,' also *ad summum*.

[4] 'As to the rest;' that is, 'but,' 'however.'

[5] 'Most parts are steeper on the Italian side (than on the Gallic).'

[6] 'And even those who had only staggered a little, if they fell, (*afflicti*), could not hold fast by the spot where they lost their footing, but tumbled down one above the other' (as they slipped away down the side of the mountain).

[7] 'With precipices so steep, that even soldiers freed from every burden, cautiously feeling their way forwards, and taking firm hold with their hands of the projecting bushes and roots, could with difficulty descend.' *Temptabundus*, putting out the foot cautiously, and so as to try each step.

[8] As the mountain (*rupes*) was impassable, for the baggage of the army could not be carried over the steep front of the cliff, Hannibal had to seek a road through the valleys in the glaciers. But this

Ea vero via insuperabilis fuit. Nam cum super veterem nivem intactam[1] nova modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec praealtae[2] facile pedes ingredientium insistebant. Ut vero tot hominum jumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem[3] liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi luctatio erat ut a lubrica glacie, non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente,[4] ut, seu manibus in assurgendo seu genu se adjuvissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent:[5] nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant: ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur. Jumenta secabant interdum etiam tum infimam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa jactandis gravius in connitendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velut pedica capta haererent in durata et alta concreta glacie.[6]

37. Tandem[7] nequicquam jumentis atque hominibus fatigatis, castra in jugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco pur-

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way, too, was shown to be perfectly impassable: and at last he came to the resolution of making a road down the rock in one way or another. Now, after this sentence, the author goes on to show the impossibility of going through the valleys at the sides of the mountain.

[1] 'Over the old snow, which had been lying untouched.'

[2] *Scil. nivi*, which is added in some editions, but is wanting in the manuscripts, and can easily be supplied.

[3] *Tabes* here is a sort of undecided substance, half snow, half water, which came from snow melted under the soldiers' feet. The word is commonly used of the dissolution of compound bodies, particularly of putrefaction. We must translate here 'through the water from the melting snow, which was flowing down.'

[4] 'There was a fearful struggle, as was natural, on account of the slippery ice, which did not permit the foot to be placed upon it, and from the steepness, made the feet slip more easily. As to *ab* said of the cause, 'on account of, in consequence of,' see *Gram.* § 291, note 1. *Fallo* means, 'I cause to fall.'

[5] 'So that, whether they aided themselves in rising with their hands or their knees, these, their very supports, slipped, and they again fell.' This is the manuscript reading, and quite good. The *adminicula* are the hands and knees, by which they try to raise themselves.

[6] 'The beasts of burden sometimes split parts of the ice, when they went into it; and broke it completely, when, after falling, they struck about with their hoofs more violently in trying to rise; so that most of them, as if caught in a trap, stuck in the hardened and deep thick ice.'

[7] Hannibal, then, after attempting in vain to go round the mountain, prepared now to make a road down the precipice. For this purpose the frozen ground had to be softened, which, according to our author, he effected by means of fire and a large quantity of vinegar.

gato: tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam,[1] per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanibus dejectis detruncatisque[2] struem ingentem lignorum faciunt, eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt.[3] Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt, molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos,[4] ut non jumenta solum, sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quatriduum circa rupem consumptum, jumentis prope fame absumptis: nuda enim fere cacumina sunt, et si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora valles et apricos quosdam colles habent, rivosque prope silvas, et jam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi jumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data triduo. Inde ad planum descensum, et jam locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.[5]

38. Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est, quinto mense a Carthagine nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantae copiae transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia peditum, viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti milia peditum, sex equitum.[6] L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor me moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis: cum his

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[1] *Munire viam* is the ordinary expression for 'to make a road,' partly by throwing up earth, partly by laying a foundation of stones; and upon the analogy of *munire viam* we have here *munire rupem*, 'to make a mountain passable;' that is, to make a road over it.

[2] 'By felling huge trees, and stripping them of their branches, they make an immense pile of logs' (*ligna* in the plural).

[3] It is stated also by Pliny, in his Natural History, that vinegar has this power; but Polybius is silent both as to the fire and the vinegar, and simply states that Hannibal made an easier winding-road down the mountain. And in fact there are some impossibilities in Livy's account; for instance, the abundance of wood on these snow-clad heights, and the large quantity of vinegar, which the armies of the ancients, indeed, carried with them in the summer to improve the water, but of which the Carthaginians in the winter-time could not have so much as we must suppose was necessary here.

[4] *Mollire clivum* means, 'to make a gently-sloping road,' which alway happens when a road down a hill winds much.

[5] 'Where already both the country and the character of the inhabitants were milder.

[6] This last is the statement of Polybius, who reckons of infantry 12,000 Carthaginians and 8000 Spaniards. This number, however, is probably too small.

octoginta milia peditum, decem equitum adducta in Italiam. Magis affluxisse verisimile est,[1] et ita quidam auctores sunt. Ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum jumentorum amisisse, Taurinis,[2] quae Gallis proxima gens erat, in Italiam degressum. Id cum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi quanam Alpes transierit, et vulgo credere Penino (atque inde nomen ei jugo Alpium inditum) transgressum, Coelium per Cremonis jugum dicere transisse;[3] qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos, sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent.[4] Nec verisimile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique quae ad Peninum ferunt, obsepta gentibus semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo Veragri, incolae jugi ejus, norunt nomen inditum, sed ab eo quem in summo sacratum vertice Peninum montani appellant.[5]

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[1] Livy's remark, that from the size of Hannibal's army, when increased by Ligurians and Gauls in Italy, no conclusion can be arrived at as to the number of soldiers whom he had led with him over the Alps, is quite just. L. Cincius Alimentus was a Roman praetor, and wrote in the Greek language a history of his own time, with a short introduction upon the more ancient Roman history, which had not yet been attempted in Latin. This Cincius Alimentus, however, is not the same as the antiquary Cincius (without the name of Alimentus), who is cited by Livy in vii. 3.

[2] The mere ablative of the name of a tribe is here employed in an unusual manner, like the ablative of the name of a district, to indicate place 'where:' 'that in the district of the Taurini Hannibal had descended from the Alps into Italy.' In saying that the Taurini were the tribe nearest to the Gauls, and were themselves in Italy, Livy thinks of the boundaries of his own time, which included in Italy all the country south of the Alps, though at the time of the second Punic war Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul were not counted in Italy.

[3] Livy censures and rejects two opinions as to the route which Hannibal took over the Alps: the one, which was general in his time, that he crossed the *Alpis Penina* (the Great St. Bernard), and that the mountain had from that circumstance received its name (which, according to this theory, must have been written *Poenina*); the other, that of Coelius Antipater (who flourished about the year 90 B.C., shortly before the time of Cicero, and wrote a history of the second Punic war, that Hannibal crossed the Little St. Bernard. The latter view, notwithstanding Livy's censure, has found most supporters in modern times.

[4] Both tribes were in Cisalpine Gaul, and to the north of the Taurini (Turin)—the Salassi about the modern Aosta, and the Libui (otherwise Libici and Lebetii) about Vercelli.

[5] 'But from him whom, under the name of Peninus, the moun-

39. Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximae genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala,[1] non poterat: otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex illuvie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat.[2] Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, cum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiis[3] trepido, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, jam ex stativis moverat Hannibal, Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis ejus, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat; et junxisset sibi, non metu solum sed etiam voluntate, Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantes defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos quae pars sequenda esset Gallos praesentem secuturos ratus.[4] Jam prope in conspectu erant exercitus, convenerantque[5] duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita jam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos jam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat; et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset. praestantem virum credebat. Et auxerant inter se opinionem,[6] Scipio, quod relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci trajiciendarum Alpium et effectu. Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum trajicere,[7] et ad Ticinum[8] amnem motis cas-

taineers worship on the top;' that is, from a local divinity who is called Peninus.

[1] 'Feeling most, whilst it was being recruited, the losses incurred before.'

[2] 'Rest, a plentiful supply of food, and care of their bodies after the previous toil, hunger, filth, and disease, produced various effects upon the bodies of the men.' *Tabes* is a consumption, in which the flesh and nerves of the body waste away.

[3] 'At (that is, 'on account of') the recent disgraceful losses incurred on the march from Ariminum to the Po. See chap. 25.

[4] 'Thinking that the Gauls, who were uncertain to which party (*quae* for *utra*) they should attach themselves, would be induced by his presence to follow him.' The participle *praesentem* implies the pronoun *se*.

[5] 'Had met each other.'

[6] 'Each had raised the other's opinion of him.'

[7] 'Scipio hastened to cross the Po, and accomplished it before Hannibal.' *Occupare* with the infinitive implies both haste and 'before.'

[8] This river is now called Tessino. At the point where it falls

tris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus.

40. 'Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos: quid enim adhortari referret[1] aut eos equites qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detrectantis certamen pro victoria habui?[2] Nunc quia ille exercitus Hispaniae provinciae scriptus[3] ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis[4] rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis; a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis;[5] a quibus capta belli praemia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is vobis illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi sunt, nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detrectavere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis, cum plures

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into the Po is situated Pavia, formerly called, from the name of the river, Ticinum.

[1] 'What need would there be,' or 'what good would it do?' As to the impersonal *refert*, see *Gram.* § 284.

[2] The subjunctive *vicissent* seems to require also *habuissem*, instead of *habui*. But the former subjunctive is used merely for a formal reason, in the continuation of a hypothetical sentence, and is, as the sentence goes on, very naturally supplanted by the indicative: 'I considered his confession, in avoiding me and a battle, as equivalent to a victory.'

[3] 'Levied for the province of Spain;' *dativus commodi*.

[4] 'Under my supreme command;' for P. Scipio, the consul now speaking, had with the *imperium* received from the senate and people of Rome also the *jus auspicandi*, so that he whom he appointed his deputy had not his own *auspicia*. We shall find that P. Scipio betook himself afterwards to the province of Spain, which had been committed to him. As consul, he had, wherever he went, authority over all commanders not of consular rank.

[5] By the conditions of peace at the conclusion of the first Punic war, the Carthaginians were to pay to the Romans a war contribution of 2200 talents, in twenty annual instalments. The statement here, however, is at variance with facts; for the terms afterwards fixed by the Roman people differed materially from those agreed to by the consul Lutatius, and limited the time of payment to ten years. But Livy, in writing the present passage, probably recollected only the first arrangement.

paene perierint quam supersunt,[1] plus spei nactos esse. At enim[2] pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit. Effigies, immo umbrae[3] hominum, fame, frigore, illuvie, squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque. Ad hoc praeusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torpida gelu,[4] quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis;[5] reliquias extremas hostium, non hostes habebitis. Ac nihil magis vereor quam ne, vos cum pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur. Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos, sine ulla humana ope, committere ac profligare bellum; nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere.[6]

41. Non vereor ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa[7] magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo affectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam provinciam meam, quo jam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii parti-

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[1] This clause and the preceding evidently contradict each other. If Hannibal had lost two-thirds of his force (for this, according to the Latin idiom, is the meaning of *duae partes*, see *Gram.* § 110), then it is plainly incorrect to say that *almost* more had perished than had survived. We can only suppose that the orator forgot to express the 'almost' in the former clause.

[2] An objection which the orator supposes to proceed from one of his hearers: 'But, some one may say.' As to the subjunctive *possit*, see *Gram.* § 360, 3.

[3] *Immo* discards or unsays the previous word, putting a stronger in its place: 'they are images—no, not images, but mere shadows of men.' *Effigies* is 'an image,' 'representation;' for example, a statue—which is, or should be, a copy of its subject, the man himself. This, however, though it be but a copy, is decidedly more material than the man's shadow. See Zumpt, § 277, *fin.*

[4] *Torpida*, 'stiff, benumbed,' is a conjecture of Rubenius, but correct; for the manuscript reading, *torrida*, cannot, according to Latin usage, be understood in the sense of *usta* or *praeusta* ('frozen at the extremities'), of the operation of frost.

[5] 'You are about to fight,' more than *pugnabitis*. See *Gram.* § 149.

[6] 'It is perhaps right (or fate has very properly so decreed) that the gods should begin and decide this war, and that we, who have been injured next to the gods, should finish it.' *Profligare* is to get over the difficulties of an affair; so that the final *confectio rei*, the complete settlement, is easy.

[7] As *vestri* is the genitive plural of *tu*, we should expect the plural of the participle, *adhortandorum;* but it is not so, for we always find *nostri*, *vestri*, and *sui*, even when they are plurals, joined with participles in the singular. As to this and its explanation, see *Gram.* § 113, note 3, § 396, note 1, and Zumpt, § 660.

cipem ac periculi socium haberem, et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem, et minorem haud dubie molem belli: tamen cum praeterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam[1] hujus hostis in terram egressus, praemisso equitatu, ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia assequi terra non poteram, regressus ad naves, quanta maxima potui celeritate, tanto maris terrarumque circuitu in radicibus Alpium obvius fui.[2] Huic timendo hosti utrum, cum declinarem certamen, improvisus incidisse videor an occurrere in vestigiis ejus,[3] lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri juvat utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit,[4] an iidem sint qui ad Aegates pugnaverunt insulas, et quos ab Eryce duodevicenis denariis aestimatos emisistis;[5] et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque[6] et servus populi Romani a patre relictus:

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[1] *Ad* introducing a casual circumstance, 'at;' for instance, *ad nuntium tam atrocem agmen constitit, ad tumultum Numidarum equites eduxit:* so here 'at the report of this enemy;' that is, when the news reached me.

[2] To *obvius fui* the dative *peditum agmini* must be understood; for the former clause, *quia assequi non poteram*, puts the noun expressed in the accusative. As to the construction *quanta maxima potui*, see Zumpt, § 689.

[3] 'Do I seem to have fallen in with this terrible foe unexpectedly, or to be going to meet him on his footsteps;' that is, on his first steps in Italy. *Tam timendo* is ironical; for by showing how much he had hurried in order to meet Hannibal, Scipio has proved that he did not fear the enemy at all.

[4] 'Whether the earth, in the interval of twenty years, has suddenly given birth to another race of Carthaginians: he says 'twenty years' in round numbers, though twenty-three had elapsed.

[5] The Carthaginian garrison in the town of Eryx (on the mountain of the same name) in Sicily had obtained leave to quit in safety, only upon condition of their paying to the Romans eighteen denarii for each man. This appears to have been at the same time one of the conditions of peace; of which, however, we have no mention anywhere else in the historians.

[6] A strong expression, referring to the conditions of peace which were imposed by the Romans upon the conquered Carthaginians, and which Hamilcar Barca, Hannibal's father, had accepted on the part of his countrymen. The Carthaginians are called *stipendiarii*, because they had to pay a war contribution; though now, after paying off the whole sum, they did not deserve the name. However, their instalments were still going on, so long as Hamilcar was alive; and in so far he might be said to leave his son a *stipendiarius* to the Romans. *Vectigalis* is one who, from his property, has to pay a certain sum to another; for instance, an *ager vectigalis* is a

quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitaret,[1] respiceret profecto, si non patriam victam, domum certe patremque et foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui jussus a consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce; qui graves impositas victis Carthaginiensibus leges fremens maerensque accepit; qui decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est.[2] Itaque vos ego. milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum,[3] fame interficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam trajicere, atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere. Veniam dedimus precantibus; emisimus ex obsidione: pacem cum victis fecimus; tutelae deinde nostrae duximus,[4] cum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his impartitis,[5] furiosum juvenem sequentes, oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non[6] pro salute esset certamen. Non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat; nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, comparari nova possint praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Unusquisque se non corpus suum, sed conjugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem[7] hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum; qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore.[7]

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piece of ground for the use of which a particular sum has to be paid. In this respect the Carthaginians were never *vectigales populi Romani*, so that this expression is used here as a rhetorical exaggeration, to strengthen the idea contained in *stipendiarius*.

[1] 'Unless the crime perpetrated against Saguntum agitated him (discomposed him, deprived him of reason);' according to the idea that the Furics, as the avengers of crime, deprive the perpetrator of peace of mind.

[2] *Pactus est dare*, an unusual construction for *se daturum*. See *Gram.* § 379, note 3.

[3] Supply *suppliciorum*. Undoubtedly death by starvation is the most horrible suffering which one man can inflict upon another.

[4] 'We looked upon them as under our protection.' See *Gram.* § 279.

[5] 'For (in return for) these kindly communications, or these benefits.'

[6] 'And not rather for our safety.' See Zumpt, § 781.

[7] 'Ever and again, constantly.' See Zumpt, § 276, 2.

42. Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad spectaculum[1] exercitu, captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit; armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum projectis interrogare interpretem jussit ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor[2] acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent et dejecta in id sors esset,[3] se quisque eum optabat quem fortuna in id certamen legeret. Ut cujusque sors exciderat, alacer, inter gratulantes gaudio exsultans, cum sui moris tripudiis[4] arma raptim capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent,[5] is habitus animorum non inter ejusdem modo condicionis homines erat, sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium[6] fortuna laudaretur.

43. Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus affectos dimisisset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus fertur. 'Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus,[7] milites. Neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae condicionis erat. Ac nescio an[8] majora vincula majoresque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit. Dextra laevaque duo maria claudunt, nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentibus,[9] contra[10] Padus amnis, major Padus ac violentior Rhodano; ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitae. Hic vincendum aut morien-

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[1] 'For the sight;' that is, to see.

[2] 'As conqueror;' that is, provided he were victorious in the fight.

[3] *Scil. in urnam.* A lot for each of the men was cast into an urn, and those fought whose names were drawn.

[4] 'With merry leaping, as was the custom of his nation.'

[5] 'But whenever they were fighting'—of repeated action, as several pairs of combatants came forward. See *Gram.* § 360, 8.

[6] Equivalent to *non minus fortuna bene morientium quam vincentium*, or *aeque morientium ac vincentium fortuna*. See Zumpt, § 725, middle.

[7] 'Then we have conquered;' properly, with the future perfect, 'then we shall have conquered,' or with the simple future, 'then we shall conquer.' The perfect, however, is stronger and more vivid.

[8] As to this expression for 'perhaps fortune has thrown around you more fetters,' see Zumpt, § 354, middle.

[9] *Habentibus* is a *dativus incommodi*, for the preceding *claudunt* must be taken intransitively; not 'shut you in,' but around you, and obstruct the way.

[10] The manuscripts have *circa*, which can also be explained; since the Carthaginians, in the position which they then occupied, had the Po on at least two sides.

dum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna quae necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, praemia vobis ea victoribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab diis quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent. Quicquid[1] Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est. In hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite, cum diis bene juvantibus[2] arma capite. Satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora consectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorumque vestrorum vidistis: tempus est jam opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere[3] et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis[4] dabit. Nec quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaritis[5] victoriam fore. Saepe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit, et incliti populi regesque perlevi momento victi sunt. Nam dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani, quid est cur illi vobis comparandi sint? Ut viginti annorum militiam vestram cum illa[6] virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum, per tot ferocissimos Hispaniae et Galliae populos vincentes huc pervenistis: pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso, victo, circumsesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem. An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque, victorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsarum, quod multo majus est, Alpium, cum semestri hoc conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui?[7] Cui si quis demptis signis Poenos

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[1] Here an adversative particle is suppressed; 'not merely Sicily and Sardinia, but rather all—will become yours.'

[2] *Cum* might have been omitted: for we say either *deo juvante* or *cum deo*.

[3] As to this construction, see *Gram.* § 396, note 3.

[4] 'When your service shall be finished;' that is, at the end of the war.

[5] *Nec existimaritis = et nolite existimare.* See *Gram.* § 369.

[6] As to *ille* used of what is well known or celebrated, see Zumpt, § 701.

[7] He calls the Roman consul a six months' general, because only half the year was suited for military operations. Scipio had sent his army to Spain, and placed himself at the head of another: this is here brought up, and by the word *desertor* thrown against him.

Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo[1] utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum cujus non ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus; cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora.[2] Cum laudatis a me millies donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque.

44. Quocunque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque,[3] vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos Carthaginienses, cum ob patriam tum ob iram justissimam pugnaturos. Inferimus bellum, infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto major spes, major est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis. Accendit praeterea et stimulat animos dolor, injuria, indignitas.[4] Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes qui Saguntum oppugnassetis;[5] deditos ultimis cruciatibus affecturi fuerunt.[6] Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit.[7] Cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere aequum censet; circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus; neque[8] eos quos statuit terminos observat. Ne transieris Iberum;[9] ne quid rei tibi

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Hannibal's hearers not being acquainted with the particulars of the affair, or with the arrangements of the Roman military service.

[1] 'I hold for certain;' that is, believe, am convinced.

[2] 'The honours due to him, the particular distinctions which he merits.' As to this use of *suus*, see Zumpt, § 550, *fin.*

[3] As we say, 'regular and irregular cavalry:' by the latter term the speaker alludes to the Numidian horsemen, who guided and governed their steeds without bridle or bit. Compare chap. 46, middle.

[4] 'Unworthy and irritating treatment;' for *indignum* is not merely negative, what is unworthy of a person or thing, but also positive, what excites the feeling of indignation.

[5] As to this statement, see page 220, note 6.

[6] 'They meant to inflict the severest punishments upon us had we been given up,' the same as 'they would have inflicted.' Compare Zumpt, § 498, middle.

[7] 'The Roman people make everything their own, and dependent on their disposal.' *Arbitrium* is the absolute disposal of anything: the genitive is according to *Gram.* § 279.

[8] 'And yet (or but yet) they themselves do not observe or keep to;' the copulative conjunction having also an adversative power.

[9] Words of a haughty Roman, who is introduced as speaking down to *moveris*. He says 'Saguntum is on the Ebro,' which, as

sit cum Saguntinis! Ad Iberum est Saguntum: nusquam te vestigio moveris. Parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Siciliam et Sardiniam adimis: etiam Hispanias? et inde cessero:[1] in Africam transcendes. Transcendes autem, dico ![2] duos consules hujus anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil unquam nobis relictum est nisi quod armis vindicaremus.[3] Illis timidis et ignavis licet esse, qui respectum habent,[4] quos sua terra, suus ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient. Vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse,[5] et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa desperatione abruptis[6] aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit,[7] in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus, destinatum[8] in animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis: nullum enim telum[9] ad vincendum homini ab diis immortalibus acrius datum est.

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every one of Hannibal's hearers knew, was not true. This is brought forward as a proof that the Romans set boundaries for others which they did not keep themselves. *Se movere vestigio*, 'to move from the spot.'

[1] As to the omission of *si*, see Zumpt, § 780.

[2] The speaker corrects his expression; 'you will cross, Roman, do I say?' No; it has been already done, and should be stated as a past fact. *Autem* cannot be translated; it takes up the preceding statement, and points to that which is to come as of an adversative character.

[3] 'Nothing has ever been left to us (by the Romans), except what we maintained our right to by arms.' The ordinary but unauthenticated reading is *usquam* and *vindicarimus*, which latter would be correct if *relinqueter* preceded.

[4] 'Who have a retrospect;' that is, something to fall back upon, and to trust to.

[5] As with *licet*, so also with *necesse est;* besides the dative of the person, another dative of the predicate with *esse* or some equivalent verb may be used: thus for *necesse est vos esse viros fortes*, also *vobis necesse est viris fortibus esse* (*haberi*, *vocari*). In the same manner, in xxiii. 29, we have *quibus armatis desultare mos est* for *quos mos est armatos desultare*. These constructions are to be accounted for by attraction. Compare Zumpt, § 601.

[6] 'Everything between victory and death being broken off (cut off).' The use of *mortemve*, where we should expect *mortemque*, is probably to be accounted for thus: Hannibal has this idea floating in his mind, 'we must conquer *or* die;' and though he expresses it in a manner which properly requires 'and,' still the 'or' slips in.

[7] *Fortuna dubitat*, 'fortune hesitates, or is doubtful,' a milder expression for *fortuna adversa est*.

[8] As to the omission of the conjunction *et*, see Zumpt, § 782, middle.

[9] The manuscripts have *nullum contemptum*, which is plainly faulty. Another good conjecture besides that which we have incorporated in our text, is *nullum incitamentum*.

45. His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum jungunt, tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponunt; Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit: Gallis parci quam maxime jubet, principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia passuum a Victumulis[1] consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil unquam satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronunciat, in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi qui accepisset liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam ne cujus suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent.[2] Servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit, binaque pro his mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeva manu, dextera silicem retinens, si falleret, Jovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent quemadmodum ipse agnum mactasset, secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit.[3] Tum vero omnes, velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis,[4] id morae quod nondum pugnarent ad potienda sperata rati,[5] proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

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[1] The manuscripts have *vica tumulis;* but the geographer Strabo mentions a village called Ictumuli in the neighbourhood of Vercellae (the modern Vercelli) and there can be little doubt that this is the place meant here. The V before the initial vowel seems to make no material difference.

[2] 'He would take care that they should not be disposed to barter their lot for that of any of their countrymen:' that is, that their lot should be as comfortable as that of any of their countrymen. With *mutare* we frequently find the accusative of that which is obtained by the change. See *Gram.* § 294, note. *Secum* is used here for *cum sua*, the possessor being mentioned instead of the possession. See Zumpt, § 767, middle. As to the construction of *velle* with the perfect infinitive passive, see *Gram.* § 380, note 2.

[3] 'Immediately after the prayer, he dashed to pieces the head of the lamb with a stone.' This symbolical action explains the sacrifice of animals in many cases.

[4] As to *quisque* the nominative, in a clause with the ablative absolute, see Zumpt, § 710, *sub fin.*

[5] 'Thinking that the circumstance that they were not yet fighting,

46. Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis: nam et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio imminente consederat. Quibus procuratis,[1] Scipio cum equitatu jaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium exque propinquo[2] copias, quantae et cujus generis essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso.[3] Neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum equorumque oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Constitit utrumque agmen, et ad proelium sese expediebant. Scipio jaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos, sociorumque quod roboris fuit, in subsidiis. Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat.[4] Vixdum clamore sublato jaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps.[5] Dein quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent,[6] jam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna venerat,[7] donec Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paululum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus periculumque intercursu tum primum pubescentis filii propulsatum. Hic

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was the only thing which delayed the attainment of what they hoped for.' *Id morae* are to be connected, and are = *eam moram esse*. Compare chap. 5, *id morari victoriam rati, quod interesset amnis*.

[1] 'After these prodigies were taken care of—that is, expiated, averted—by means of sacrifices.

[2] See Zumpt, § 356, middle. *Ex propinquoque* might also have been used, but in that case the author would certainly have offended against euphony.

[3] 'Who had likewise advanced.' As to *et ipse*, see Zumpt, § 698.

[4] Properly, according to *Gram.* § 290, note 2, men being here the instruments, the simple ablative should not have been used; but it must be observed that the terms which designate soldiers or classes of soldiers are frequently put in the simple ablative when they serve as means; for instance, *cingere domum milite, equitibus pugnare, victore exercitu aggredi*. This practice may easily be accounted for by the fact, that soldiers are in reality little better than mere machines.

[5] 'For a considerable time undecided.'

[6] The subjunctive of repeated action. See chap. 42, p. 238, note 5

[7] 'The battle had become a foot one.' The Latin expression here is somewhat striking; for commonly we say of the combatants merely, not of the battle, *ad pedes degredi, descendere, desilire, deducere*.

erit juvenis,[1] penes quem perfecti hujusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa jaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidae invaserunt. Alius[2] confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum, non armis modo sed etiam corporibus suis protegens, in castra, nusquam trepide neque effuse cedendo, reduxit. Servati consulis decus Coelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat. Malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.[3]

47. Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit; quo facile apparuit et equitatu meliorem Poenum esse, et ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte, jussis militibus vasa silentio colligere,[4] castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus junxerat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias trajiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos: tamen ad sexcentos moratorum[5] in citeriore ripa Padi, segniter ratem solventes, cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente.[6] Coe-

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[1] 'This *will be* the youth'—namely, of whom we shall have to speak so much in the course of our history.

[2] *Alius equitatus* is said with reference to the *jaculatores;* 'others, and among them the cavalry,' or 'others, namely, cavalry,' not 'other cavalry.' Compare v. 39, *exploratoribus missis circa moenia aliasque portas.* In a similar manner the French say, *vous autres Anglais*, in opposition to others not English.

[3] 'What common fame has maintained.' *Fama obtinuit*, however, may also be understood intransitively, 'the report has continued prevalent,' in the same way as the simple *tenere* is used not unfrequently for 'to continue.'

[4] 'To pack up silently.' *Vasa colligere*, a military expression for the collection and packing of the baggage which belonged to each individual soldier, and to the army collectively. As to the ablative *silentio*, see *Gram.* § 293, note 2.

[5] 'Loiterers.' Polybius says they had been left behind to guard the bridge.

[6] The bridge consisted of several boats or rafts joined together. The Roman rear-guard were engaged in unloosening the ship nearest to the northern bank, when Hannibal came up and forced them to surrender. In the meantime, however, the boat had been unfastened, and floated away down the river; on which account Hannibal was unable to cross immediately, for no doubt the Romans had by this time set all the other boats adrift. This accounts for the use of the singular *ratis* here, and the plural *rates* a little before.

lius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo transnasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse, elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis.[1] Ea peritis amnis ejus vix fidem fecerint: nam neque equites armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse verisimile est, ut jam Hispanos omnes inflati transvexerint utres;[2] et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerint, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci posset. Potiores apud me auctores sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate jungendo flumini[3] inventum tradunt; ea[4] cum Magone equites Hispanorum expeditos praemissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, trajicit gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia[5] a Placentia castra communivit, et postero die in conspectu hostium acie directa potestatem pugnae fecit.

48. Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re major, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est. Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites, vigilibus ad portas trucidatis, ad Hannibalem transfugiunt; quos Poenus benigne allocutus, et spe ingentium donorum accensos, in civitates quemque suas[6] ad sollicitandos popularium animos dimisit. Scipio caedem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque eo scelere velut injecta rabie ad arma ituros, quamquam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium in loca altiora collesque impeditiores equiti castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum

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[1] The elephants were so placed, that the violence of the current was broken on their colossal bodies. At the passage of the Rhone (see chap. 27) Hannibal gained the same end by means of large ships.

[2] '*Even supposing that* all the Spaniards were carried across on skins blown up.' As to *ut* in this sense, see *Gram.* § 352, note 1.

[3] 'A place for connecting the two banks of the river by a bridge of boats (*rate* collectively for *ratibus*):' that is, briefly, 'a suitable place for a boat-bridge.' As to the dative *flumini jungendo*, see *Gram.* § 394.

[4] 'In that way,' or 'there.' See Zumpt, § 288.

[5] The accusative of distance: the ablative *sex milibus* might also have been used. See *Gram.* § 256, note 2.

[6] More commonly *in suam quemque civitatem*, the singular being used, and the *quisque* placed after the pronoun. See Zumpt, § 800.

fefellit;[1] missisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu turbasset utique[2] novissimum agmen, ni aviditate praedae in vacua Romana castra Numidae devertissent. Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus; et cum jam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio nec vexationem vulneris in via jactati ultra patiens, et collegam[3] (jam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat) ratus expectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quae per hostium agros euntem nusquam praeparatis commeatibus major in dies excipiebat,[4] ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit.[5] Ibi cum vim pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino praefecto praesidii[6] corrupto, traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil[7] saevitum est.

49. Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae imminentes[8] et a Sempronio consule et ante adventum ejus terra marique res

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[1] *Scil. Hannibalem*, 'he was less successful in escaping the notice of Hannibal.'

[2] 'At all events,' 'certainly.' See Zumpt, § 282, *init.*

[3] Namely, Ti. Sempronius Longus, who had at first received commission to cross with his army from Sicily to Africa.

[4] 'Which (want) received him on his march;' that is, met and surrounded him. For *excipere* is used of that which follows, and may, indeed, often be translated 'to follow:' for instance, *annus turbulentus excepit, pacem Punicam bellum Macedonicum excepit*, 'the war with Macedonia followed immediately upon the conclusion of peace with the Carthaginians.'

[5] 'He sends to Clastidium;' that is, with an ellipsis, 'he sends a detachment of his troops.' *Numerus* is used of quantity as well as of things that are reckoned by number; thus, *magnus numerus vini*, 'a great quantity of wine.' Clastidium is the modern Chiasteggio, south from the Po.

[6] This commander was therefore a *socius Latinus*, Brundusium being a *colonia Latina*, and probably the garrison of the town also consisted of a Brundisian cohort.

[7] *Nihil* for *non*, as οὐδὲν for οὐ. See Zumpt, § 677.

[8] 'The islands situated nearer Italy;' for *imminere* is often used of a near, properly a higher position. Anything in the sea seems higher to one looking at it from the land.

gestae. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus missae, novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt;[1] tres in fretum[2] avertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis, praeter viginti naves, cujus ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybaei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere[3] eadem tempestate qua ipsi disjecti forent, eam quoque classem ad Aegates insulas dejectam. Haec sicut audita erant, rex M. Aemilio praetori, cujus Sicilia provincia erat, perscribit, monetque Lilybaeum firmo teneret praesidio. Extemplo et[4] circa a praetore ad civitates missi legati tribunique: suos ad curam custodiae intenderent; ante omnia Lilybaeum teneri; ad apparatum belli edicto proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent; ubi signum datum esset, ne quis moram conscendendi faceret; perque omnem oram qui ex speculis prospicerent adventantem hostium classem. Simul itaque, quamquam de industria morati cursum navium erant Carthaginienses, ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum, praesensum tamen est,[5] quia et luna

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[1] *Tenere*, with the accusative of place or with *ad*, means, in ship-phrase, 'to stand or steer for a place:' as Livy, i. 1, *Aeneam classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse*, and xxii. 22, *ea classis —portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit*, xxx. 39, *ita vexata et lacerata classis Carales tenuit*. The manuscripts have *ad* before *insulam;* some editions, however, omit it. Both the islands mentioned belong to the group of the so-called Æolian or Vulcanian or Lipari islands, which take their names from Æolus, the god of the winds, or from Vulcan, who presided over the burning mountains that are found in some of them, and from the principal island Lipara (now Lipari). The particular *insula Vulcani* (now Volcano) was also called Hiera (Holy Island).

[2] *Fretum κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, the Straits of Messina, between Italy and Sicily.

[3] Supply 'they said' out of *cognitum*.

[4] This *et* corresponds with the conjunction *que* afterwards: 'on the one hand lieutenants and tribunes were sent to the cities round about; and on the other, scouts to the watch-towers on the coast.' *Teneri, Scil. a classe Punica*, 'that Lilybaeum was the main object (the object before everything else) of the Carthaginian fleet,' and therefore was to be guarded most carefully. See p. 247, note 1.

[5] 'As soon, therefore, as the approach of the Carthaginians was observed.' '*Simul* for *simulac* (see Zumpt, § 350); *itaque* put after the first word, as is not unusual in Livy; *tamen*, merely inserted on account of the interjected clause with *quamquam*. It causes a little confusion, however: and therefore the most convenient mode of

pernox erat et sublatis armamentis[1] veniebant: extemplo datum e speculis signum, et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naves conscensum. Pars militum in muris portarumque in stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginienses quia rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto.[2] Ubi illuxit, recepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnae esset exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani decretavere pugnam, et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac virtute.

50. Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex propinquo vires conferre velle: contra eludere[3] Poenus, et arte, non vi rem gerere, naviumque quam virorum aut armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navalibus affatim instructam classem, ita inopem milite habebant;[4] et sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquaquam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum, et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo septem naves Punicae circumventae; fugam ceterae ceperunt. Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites nautaeque,[5] in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris ejus qui Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit. Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem ornatam obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in praetoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse, precatusque prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde

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translation here is to form a parenthesis, thus—'as soon, then, as the approach of the Carthaginians was observed (for although, &c. still it was perceived), the signal was immediately given.'

[1] 'With their sails up,' *armamenta* being all the rigging and tackling of a ship, mast, yards, and sails.

[2] 'The time being spent in taking down their sails, and preparing the fleet for battle.'

[3] 'Avoided the enemy,' thus attempting to put off the decision. The historical (descriptive) infinitive, very well suited for depicting a state which continued for some time.

[4] 'They had;' namely, the Carthaginians, which must be understood from the collective singular *Poenus*. *Socii navales* are 'rowers,' *miles*, collectively 'marines.'

[5] This gives 243 men for each vessel, certainly too small a crew for a *quinqueremis;* since, according to one account, the proper complement was 100 men for each bank of oars; according to another, and at the lowest estimate, 400 in all.

insulae et Carthaginiensium conata exposuit, pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum juvenis adjuvisset, eo senem adjuturum; frumentum vestimentaque sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis praebiturum: grande periculum Lilybaeo maritimisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore.[1] Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybaeum fusasque et captas hostium naves accepere.

51. A Lilybaeo consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram, ipse in insulam Melitam,[2] quae a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, trajecit. Advenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius praefectus praesidii cum paulo minus duobus milibus militum, oppidumque cum insula traditur.[3] Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum, captivique et a consule et a praetore, praeter insignes nobilitate viros, sub corona venierunt.[4] Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vulcani,[5] quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, trajecit. Nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inventus. Jam forte transmiserant ad vastandam Italiae oram, depopulatoque Viboniensi agro urbem[6] etiam terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consuli excensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nunciatur, litteraeque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore collegae ferret auxilium, missae traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naves impositum Ariminum supero mari misit, Sex. Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque oram

[1] 'And that to some a change in the state of affairs (a revolution, in fact) would be very agreeable.' As to the expression *aliquid mihi volenti est*, see Zumpt, § 420, note.

[2] Now Malta, and a British possession.

[3] 'Surrenders, or gives itself up,' not 'is given up.' See *Gram.* § 125, note 2. For if the surrender had been caused by a rising of the native Maltese, Livy would have given us a fuller account of it. As to the construction of *minus*, see *Gram.* § 305, note 4.

[4] The expressions *sub corona vendere*, and passively, *sub corona venire*, used of the sale of prisoners of war for slaves, are explained by the antiquary Gellius. He informs us that they were derived from the custom of placing a garland on the head of such prisoners. The preposition *ab* in *a consule et a praetore*, may depend either on *captivi* (=*capti*) or on *venierunt*, *veneo* being used as the passive of *vendere*. See *Gram.* § 127.

[5] See page 247, note 1.

[6] Namely, the city of Vibo, in Bruttium. This town, now called Monte Leone, is situated at some distance from the coast.

Italiae tuendam attribuit, M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta navium classem explevit.[1] Ipse compositis Siciliae rebus, decem navibus oram Italiae legens,[2] Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen collegae conjungitur.

52. Jam ambo consules, et quicquid Romanarum virium erat, Hannibali oppositum, aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis declarabat.[3] Tamen consul alter, equestri proelio uno et vulnere suo minutus,[4] trahi rem malebat: recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est, Galli tum incolebant, in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes.[5] Id Romani, modo ne quid moverent, aequo satis, Poenis periniquo animo ferebat,[6] ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda militem aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas jussit. Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id[7] dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus injuriae ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque ad consulem[8] missis auxilium Romanorum terrae ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat; suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa

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[1] By leaving behind some vessels of his own fleet, the consul made up the praetor's fleet to the number of fifty ships of war. This is what is meant by *explevit.*

[2] *Oram legere*, 'to sail along the coast,' or, in ship phrase, 'to hug the coast.'

[3] 'The fact that both consuls, and all the strength the Romans had (*quicquid Romanarum virium erat* being = a noun), were opposed to Hannibal, showed.' The verb *declarabat* is drawn to the nearest subject, according to *Gram.* § 239, *c.*

[4] 'Disheartened,' just as we say *animos minuere,* and of the opposite, *animos augere.*

[5] 'With undecided (wavering) favour they undoubtedly aimed at gaining the friendship of the victorious party;' that is, they played fast and loose with each party, waiting to see which would conquer. *Spectare*, 'to have in one's eye, aim at.'

[6] The Romans were content with this indecision of the Gauls, provided only that they did not rise in open rebellion; for the Carthaginians, on the other hand, neutrality was not sufficient: they demanded that the Gauls should pass over to their side.

[7] 'Till then,' = *ad id tempus.*

[8] Livy says 'to *the* consul, probably meaning Sempronius, who naturally enough had the duty of receiving embassies when his colleague was ill.

facinora, tum, ut alia vetustate abolevissent,[1] ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam. Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos qui eguissent ope defensos censebat.[2] Tum collega cunctante equitatum suum, mille peditum, jaculatoribus ferme admixtis, ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos et incompositos, ad hoc graves praeda plerosque, cum inopinatos invasissent, ingentem terrorem caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi rursus subsidio suorum proelium restituere. Varia inde pugna cedentes sequentesque cum ad extremum aequassent certamen, major tamen quam hostium Romanis fama victoriae fuit.[3]

53. Ceterum nemini omnium major justiorque quam ipsi consuli videri: gaudio efferri,[4] qua parte copiarum alter consul victus foret, ea se vicisse. Restitutos ac refectos militibus animos; nec quemquam esse praeter collegam qui dilatam dimicationem vellet: eum animo magis quam corpore aegrum memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere. Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum expectari? Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis ademptas, nec cis Iberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos. 'Quantum ingemiscant,' inquit, 'patres nostri circa moenia

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[1] 'Even granting that other things had, from length of time, perished from memory;' from *abolescere*, 'to perish, vanish, decay.' Another reading is *obsolevissent*, which is said of things that go out of use: and is less suitable, therefore, here. As to the transitive and intransitive forms of the verbs of this root, see Zumpt, § 174.

[2] 'He thought that the defence of the first who had needed assistance was the strongest bond for keeping the allies true to their agreement.' The latter part ('for keeping,' &c.) is expressed by the dative of the gerundive, as frequently. As to the use of the participle in *primos defensos* as a verbal substantive, see *Gram.* § 404, note 3.

[3] 'The Romans had a greater fame of being victorious than that of the enemy was;' that is, the majority of people considered the Romans to have gained the victory. We have inserted *quam*, following other critics.

[4] According to his usual practice, Livy gives himself full swing in the description of the consul's state of mind, and for this the historical infinitive is most suitable. *Victus foret*, though no doubt = *victus esset*, is yet but rarely used with such a time as it has here, having commonly a reference to the future. See *Gram.* § 137, note 4, and Zumpt, § 156, note, *sub fin.*

Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant[1] nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia paventes intra castra; Poenum, quod inter Alpes Apenninumque agri sit, suae dicionis fecisse?' Haec assidens aegro collegae, haec in praetorio prope contionabundus[2] agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum vertendae gloriae, dum aeger collega erat. Itaque nequicquam dissentiente Cornelio parari ad propinquum certamen milites jubet.

Hannibal cum quid optimum foret hosti cerneret, vix ullam spem habebat temere atque improvide quicquam consules acturos. Cum[3] alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud diffidebat. Cujus ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius secuturam, quanto longius ab domo traherentur. Cum ob haec taliaque speraret propinquum certamen, et facere,[4] si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda quae vellet[5] tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Romanos rettulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit.

54. Erat in medio rivus praealtis utrimque clausus ripis, et circa obsitus palustribus herbis et quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo[6] satis latebrosum locum circumvectus ipse oculis

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[1] 'How would our fathers groan, if they saw.' Livy uses the present, representing the thing as possible (see *Gram.* § 344). It is very possible that many were then still alive who, in 256 B.C., under Regulus, had carried on war about the walls of Carthage.

[2] 'Almost like an orator addressing a popular assembly.' See *Gram.* § 145.

[3] For the connection of the sentence an adversative conjunction, *sed*, *verum*, *veruntamen*, must be supplied in thought: 'Hannibal scarcely thought that the consuls would do anything inconsiderately; but when he perceived how excitable and impetuous Sempronius was, he began to entertain a hope that he would give him battle.'

[4] *Facere* in a more pregnant sense than common: 'he wished to *make* a battle, to bring about one himself,' *ultro facere*.

[5] 'Which he wished to have investigated.' *Tutiores* here in the sense of *certiores*.

[6] 'For concealing cavalry;' the construction of the dative of the

perlustravit, 'Hic erit locus,' Magoni fratri ait, 'quem teneas: delige centenos[1] viros ex omni pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias. Nunc corpora curare tempus est.' Ita praetorium[2] missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. 'Robora virorum cerno,' inquit Hannibal; 'sed uti[3] numero etiam, non animis modo valeatis, singulis vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque[4] vestri similes eligite. Mago locum monstrabit quem insideatis. Hostem caecum ad has belli artes habetis.' Ita mille equitibus Magoni[5] mille peditibus dimissis, Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare jubet hostium portis, jaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, injecto deinde certamine[6] cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis: ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque praeceptum ut prandere omnes juberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum expectare.

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum[7] jam ante consilio, avidus certaminis, eduxit. Erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Apenninoque interjectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludum[8] praegelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat; et quicquid aurae fluminis appropinquabant, afflabat acrior frigoris vis.[9] Ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt (et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno

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gerund with its dependent accusative not being changed as usual into the gerundive (*equitibus tegendis*).

[1] That is, one hundred of each of the two kinds of soldiers.

[2] In this phrase, *praetorium* means the assembly or council of the subordinate officers in the tent of the commander-in-chief, which last is properly called *praetorium*.

[3] We give *uti* instead of *ut et*, which has been the reading hitherto, because the manuscripts have not *et*, but *e*. The pleonasm *et quoque, et etiam*, or *quoque etiam*, does indeed sometimes occur, but only rarely, and is not worthy of imitation.

[4] *Turmae* are the troops of cavalry, *manipuli* the companies of foot. As to *vestri similes*, see *Gram.* § 267, note 2.

[5] 'For Mago to put in ambush,' a *dativus commodi*.

[6] 'Having excited' or 'brought about a battle,'=*moto, conserto, commisso*.

[7] 'To that which he had already, after reflection, determined upon;' namely, a battle.

[8] On the authority of some manuscripts we have introduced the regular form *paludum* instead of *paludium*.

[9] 'And as they were always coming nearer to the river-breeze,

imbri), tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia essent,[1] et simul lassitudine et procedente jam die fame etiam deficere.

55. Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso, et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nunciatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Baleares locat ante signa, levemque armaturam, octo ferme milia hominum; dein graviorem armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat. In cornibus circumfudit decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus[2] in utramque partem divisos elephantos statuit. Consul effusos sequentes[3] equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti milia Romani erant, socium nominis Latini[4] viginti; auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum: ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. His copiis concursum est. Proelium a Balearibus ortum est; quibus cum majore robore legiones obsisterent, diductae propere in cornua leves armaturae[5] sunt. Quae res effecit ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur: nam cum vix jam per se resisterent decem milibus equitum quattuor milia, et fessi plerisque integris, obruti sunt insuper velut nube jaculorum a Belearibus conjecta. Ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis

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the cold wind was constantly blowing more bitterly in their faces.' As to *quicquid appropinquabant*, see Zumpt, § 385.

[1] 'That they were scarcely able to hold the arms.' As to *potens* with the genitive, see *Gram.* § 277, 3.

[2] *Ab cornibus* is nothing else but 'on the wings;' the preposition *ab* expressing the fact, that the line of elephants began at the end of the wings. From the account given by Polybius, we must suppose that the elephants were posted on the wings before the cavalry.

[3] Equivalent to *effuse sequentes:* they were pursuing the Numidians, and became scattered; that is, lost their proper close order.

[4] 'Allies of the class of Latins;' for *nomen Latinum*, 'the Latin name,' means the whole body of cities possessing the *jus Latinum*, whether real Latin towns or *coloniae Latinae.* Tibur and Praeneste, for instance, were real Latin towns; Placentia, Cremona, Ariminum, Brundisium, and others, Latin colonies. Every city of this class sent a cohort to the Roman army, and enjoyed particular privileges above other *socii Italici* in reference to obtaining the rights of Roman citizenship.

[5] 'The light-armed troops,' contrary to custom, used here in the plural, there being two bodies of them; the one on the one wing, the other on the other.

quam viribus erat, quas recentes Poenus, paulo ante curatis corporibus, in proelium attulerat: contra jejuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum pedite solum foret pugnatum. Sed et Baleares pulso equite jaculabantur in latera, et elephanti jam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant; et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum improvida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime praeter spem omnium adversus elephantos. Eos velites ad id ipsum locati verutis conjectis et avertere, et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant.

56. Trepidantes propeque jam in suos consternatos media acie[1] in extremam, ad sinistrum cornu, adversus Gallos auxiliares agi jussit Hannibal. Extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam, additusque novus terror Romanis, ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque cum jam in orbem pugnarent,[2] decem milia ferme hominum, cum alia evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, quae Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perrupere. Et cum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis, neque prae imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt, aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi[3] ab hostibus oppressi: qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam contendere. Aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit,[4] transgressique in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et jumenta et elephantos prope omnes absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit; et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent. Itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium castrorum, et quod reliquum ex magna parte militum erat,[5] ratibus Trebiam trajicerent,

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[1] 'From the middle of the fight,' for *e media acie*. See Zumpt, § 482.

[2] *In orbem pugnare*, or *se defendere, se tutari*, 'to fight in a ring;' a military expression, in which we must explain the accusative by a reference to the formation of the circle, thus, 'they formed a ring by fighting,' or 'they fought themselves into the form of a circle.'

[3] 'Whilst they were hesitating to enter the river.'

[4] 'Others, from fear of the enemy, threw themselves boldly into the stream.' *Hostium* is an objective genitive. See *Gram.* § 273.

[5] 'Those of a great part of the soldiers who were still left;' that is, the survivors, who belonged to a body not previously mentioned,

aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia, aut quia jam moveri nequibant prae lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt; quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado trajectus[1] Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

57. Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut jam ad urbem Romanam[2] crederent infestis signis hostem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse, quo portis moenibusque[3] vim arcerent. Uno consule ad Ticinum victo, altero ex Sicilia revocato, duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus victis, quos alios duces, quas alias legiones esse quae arcessantur?[4] Ita territis Sempronius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per effusos passim[5] ad praedandum hostium equites, audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus. Id quod unum maxime in praesentia desiderabatur,[6] comitiis consularibus habitis in hiberna rediit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.[7]

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and consisting of those who had fled to the camp, and of those who had been left behind when Sempronius marched out. All these crossed the Trebia during the night, and marched past the Carthaginian camp to Placentia by the same way which the 10,000, who had made their way out of the battle, had taken. The reason of their not preferring the route towards the same point along the Roman side of the Trebia, on which their own camp stood, is probably to be found in the difficulties of the ground.

[1] *Exercitus Pado trajicitur* is the same as *exercitus Padum trajicit*, and we might here have had *Pado trajecto*. See *Gram.* § 251, with note.

[2] We have inserted *Romanam*, following the best manuscripts. The adjective seems to be necessary, lest perhaps Placentia or Cremona might be understood.

[3] *Arcere* with the ablative. See *Gram.* § 297.

[4] The lamentation and anxiety seem rather exaggerated. The separate mention of the events which occurred to the two consular armies has also a rhetorical look. Rome cannot have been in want of generals, and the conscription of new legions had not yet become so difficult a matter.

[5] *Passim* means 'everywhere, in all quarters, but separately, in separate places.'

[6] This clause refers to the following *comitiis habitis*. As to *id quod* for *quod*, see *Gram.* § 232, 2.

[7] The latter for the second time (*iterum*), for he had been consul in the year 223 B.C. He belonged to the popular party, was bold, and in his former consulship had fought very successfully against the Insubrian Gauls on the Po. It was probably the remembrance of this success that principally occasioned his present election for the year 217.

Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant, vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus, et ut quaeque his impeditiora erant,[1] Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. Emporium[2] prope Placentiam fuit et opere magno munitum et valido firmatum praesidio. Ejus castelli expugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset,[3] nocte adortus non fefellit vigiles. Tantus repente clamor est sublatus, ut Placentiae quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat, jussis quadrato agmine legionibus sequi. Equestre proelium interim commissum; in quo, quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus injecto defensum egregie praesidium est. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta, et vixdum satis percurato vulnere, ad Victumvias oppugnandas ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis[4] Gallico bello fuerat munitum: inde locum frequentaverant accolae mixti undique ex finitimis populis; et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris compulerat. Hujus generis multitudo, fama impigre defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa, armis arreptis[5] obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam acies[6] in via concurrerunt; et cum ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta quinque milia hominum a paucis fusa. Postero die deditione facta praesidium intra moenia accepere; jussique arma tradere cum dicto paruissent, signum repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam vi captam urbem diriperent. Neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis scribentibus[7] videri solet, praetermissa clades est: adeo omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae editum in miseros exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis.

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[1] 'And wherever the ground was too difficult (rugged and broken) for these.' The manuscripts have *et quaeque*, the editions *et qua*. We have given the conjecture *et ut quaeque;* that is, 'as each locality was more difficult.' See Zumpt, § 710.

[2] *Emporium* is literally 'a trading place,' particularly 'a port;' and probably the place here meant was on the Po.

[3] Connect *plurimum spei;* 'as he had rested most of his hope of (with regard to) success upon the concealment of the undertaking.'

[4] The dative with a passive, as frequently, for *ab* with the ablative. See *Gram.* § 271.

[5] 'Having hastily armed themselves.'

[6] *Agmen* (for *agimen*, from *ago*), an army or detachment on the march; *acies*, an army drawn out in battle array.

[7] 'To writers,' here the historians.

58. Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora[1] erant, quies militi data est; et ad prima ac dubia signa veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut voluntate adjuncturus. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope foeditatem superaverit.[2] Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant aut contra enitentes vertice intorti affligebantur,[3] constitere; dein cum jam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret,[4] aversi a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono coelum strepere, et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes: capti auribus et oculis[5] metu omnes torpere. Tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo, quo deprehensi erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit: nam nec explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant, nec quod statutum esset manebat, omnia perscindente vento et rapiente. Et mox aqua levata vento, cum super gelida montium juga concreta esset, tantum nivosae grandinis dejecit,[6] ut omnibus omissis procumberent homines, tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti. Tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est, ut ex illa miserabili hominum jumentorumque strage cum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpentibus rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant. Deinde ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere[7] animos, et raris locis ignis fieri est

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[1] As to such plurals of words denoting the phenomena of the weather, see *Gram.* § 76, note 2, *fin.* They are scarcely ever used in modern languages: we say, for instance, 'cold days,' not 'colds.'

[2] Somewhat irregular, for the imperfect: see Zumpt, § 504. note.

[3] 'Or, if they strove against it, they were caught by the whirlwind, and dashed to the ground.'

[4] 'The wind shut (broke, cut, usually *intercludit*) the breath, and did not allow respiration;' literally, 'did not permit the men to exchange breath.' *Reciprocare* is properly the term for the ebb and flow of the tide, but is also very suitably used of the drawing in and expiration of air.

[5] 'Deafened and blinded;' literally, 'taken captive in (or so far as regards) the ears and eyes;' for *captus aliquo membro* is one who cannot make use of a limb.

[6] The water—that is, the damp air—was condensed by the cold, and then fell on the ground in the form of hail. Livy says, 'snowy hail;' that is, hail in such quantity as to cover the ground like snow.

[7] All the manuscripts have *recipere*, for which the editions commonly give *recepere*. We must supply *coepere* to these infinitives active out of *coeptus est*. Translate thus then: 'when at length,

coeptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi mansere. Multi homines, multa jumenta, elephanti quoque ex his, qui proelio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem absumpti.

59. Digressus Apennino[1] retro ad Placentiam castra movit, et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim milia peditum, quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit. Nec Sempronius consul (jam enim redierat ab Roma) detrectavit certamen; atque eo die tria milia passuum inter bina castra fuere. Postero die ingentibus animis, vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal, paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis, ceteros confertos in media castra recepit, intentosque signum ad erumpendum spectare jubet. Jam nona ferme diei hora erat, cum Romanus nequicquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum[2] a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus dextra laevaque emissis in hostem, ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis saeva[3] et cum utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivisset. Nox accensum ingentibus animis proelium diremit. Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam caedes; et sicut aequata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sexcentis plus peditibus, et dimidium ejus[4] equitum cecidit. Sed major Romanis quam pro numero jactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et praefecti sociorum[5] tres sunt interfecti. Secundum eam

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by shaking themselves, they began to move and breathe freely, and to light fires here and there, then every one looked helplessly for his neighbour's assistance.'

[1] 'Having removed from the Apennines.' This is the sense of *digressus*, which is the reading of the manuscripts. The editions have *degressus*.

[2] *Scil. esse*; the passive is used impersonally, 'when he saw that a retirement had been made (that is, that the enemy had retired) from the camp.'

[3] 'Fiercer and more remarkable,' for *saevior et clarior*. See *Gram.* § 99.

[4] 'The half of that number,' *ejus* being the genitive of *id* used substantively. Compare xlii. 8, *placere senatui M. Popillium consulem Ligures—ipsos restituere in libertatem, bonaque ut iis, quod* EJUS *reciperari possit, reddantur curare*, 'to give back the goods, at least as much thereof (*ejus*) as could be recovered.'

[5] The *praefecti* were to the allies, both horse and foot (*praefectus*

pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam[1] concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis[2] pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

60. Dum haec in Italia geruntur,[3] Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus, cum ab ostio Rhodani profectus Pyrenaeosque montes circumvectus Emporiis[4] appulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a Lacetanis omnem oram usque ad Iberum flumen, partim renovandis societatibus partim novis instituendis, Romanae dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiae fama non ad maritimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores jam gentes valuit;[5] nec pax modo apud eos, sed societas etiam armorum parata est, validaeque aliquot auxiliorum[6] cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis cis Iberum provincia erat: eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis ejus praesidium. Itaque priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positis, in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque adversus singulos separatim, quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit: sex milia hostium caesa, duo capta cum praesidio castrorum. Nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur;[7] et Cissis, propinquum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum praeda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex

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alae and *praefectus cohortis*), the same as the *tribuni militum* to the Roman legions.

[1] The modern Lucca, the southernmost city of Liguria, on the borders of Etruria. It was already in the possession of the Romans, who shortly afterwards settled a colony in it.

[2] 'With them'—that is, the Ligurians—as a pledge of their determination to connect themselves with Hannibal.

[3] As to the present with *dum*, whilst the main verb is in the perfect, see *Gram.* § 332, note.

[4] Emporiae, now Empurias, an ancient Greek colony at the foot of the eastern Pyrenees, in the district of the Indigetes.

[5] *Valuit ad populos*, 'he had power among the tribes' = *apud. In mediterraneis ac montanis*, from the neuter *mediterranea ac montana*, 'inland and mountainous districts.'

[6] *Auxilia* are 'auxiliary troops;' and, according to Roman idiom, this term is used of barbarous tribes, to distinguish them from the *socii*.

[7] See *Gram.* § 244, 3. The singular *capitur* is also not only allowable, but frequent.

barbarica ac vilium mancipiorum.[1] Castra militem ditavere, non ejus modo exercitus, qui victus erat, sed et ejus. qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenaeum relictis.

61. Priusquam certa hujus cladis fama accideret, transgressus Iberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum, mille equitum tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios[2] vagos palantesque per agros, quod[3] ferme fit, ut secundae res negligentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede, majore fuga ad naves compellit. Nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne a Scipione opprimeretur, trans Iberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos[4] praefectos navium animadvertisset, praesidio Tarracone modico relicto Emporias cum classe rediit. Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat; et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso cum eorum ipsorum juventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis, toto cis Iberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum[5] infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae caput ejus populi erat, circumsedit; intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes pecunia etiam, multatos in jus dicionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos[6] prope Iberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum, procedit; atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte, haud procul jam urbe, cum intrare vellent, excepit insidiis. Caesa ad duodecim milia; exuti prope omnes armis domos passim

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[1] 'The booty—consisting only of barbarian (barbaric) furniture and worthless slaves.' *Supellex* is used in apposition to *praeda; mancipiorum* is governed by it.

[2] 'Marines and seamen.' The reader must understand that these belonged to the Roman fleet, for Tarraco (Tarragona) was the capital of the Roman province.

[3] *Quod* may be either 'because' or 'which:' in the latter case the clause with *ut* is an expansion and explanation of the pronoun, 'which generally happens—namely, that success creates negligence.'

[4] 'A few,' not merely negatively 'few.'

[5] *Cum* here is the conjunction, not the preposition; for which, from its position, it might readily be mistaken.

[6] Among the towns of this tribe we find Ausa (now Osona) and Gerunda (now Gerona) named. Perhaps the former was the capital of the tribe, the town here mentioned, but not named by Livy.

palantes per agros diffugere. Nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro unquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta jacuit;[1] adeoque pluteos ac vineas[2] Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola, ignibus aliquoties conjectis ab hoste, etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo cum Amusitus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti[3] deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

62. Romae et circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nunciata et temere credita sunt,[4] in quis ingenuum infantem semestrem in foro olitorio triumphum[5] clamasse; et foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse, atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese dejecisse; et navium speciem de coelo affulsisse; et aedem Spei, quae est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam; et Lanuvii hastam se commovisse,[6] et corvum in aedem Junonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinario[7] consedisse; et in agro Ami-

[1] A remarkably severe winter. In Italy, towards the end of the winter, as we know, Hannibal found great difficulties from the severity of the weather in his attempt to cross the Apennines.

[2] *Plutei* are roofs made of hurdlework, and moved on wheels, under which assailants of walls could advance with comparative safety. As to *vineae*, see chap. 7, p. 189, note 6.

[3] 'After having come to an agreement upon condition of their paying twenty talents of silver:' the ablative as in the verbs of buying and selling. The value of the talent is about £213.

[4] Livy relates such prodigies very fully. He took them no doubt from the *Annales Pontificis Maximi*, and thought it worth while transferring them into his history, because, on the one hand, his great principle was to narrate every fact and everything handed down by tradition as such; and, on the other, he observed that such stories of prodigies were characteristic of bygone ages. It is difficult to suppose, however, that he believed them, or was convinced of the connection between such wonderful phenomena and the fate of the Roman state. Indeed in this very passage he modestly expresses a doubt as to the truth of the stories.

[5] The child made some sound which resembled the common shout *Io triumphe!* The accusative *triumphum* is used on account of the grammatical connection.

[6] In Lanuvium (now Citta Lavinja), about sixteen miles south from Rome, there was an ancient and celebrated temple of Juno Sospita. The lance in the hand of the goddess is probably meant here.

[7] *Pulvinar* or *pulvinarium* is a couch provided with carpets and cushions placed beside the image of a divinity. On this the consecrated image was laid at solemn feasts, the feast itself being spread on a small table before it. The solemn festivity itself was called *lectisternium*, because the *lecti* (sofas for reclining on) were arranged and provided with cushions (*sternebantur*).

termino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste visos,[1] nec cum ullo congressos; et in Piceno lapidibus pluvisse;[2] et Caere sortes extenuatas;[3] et in Gallia lupum vigili gladium e vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia libros[4] adire decemviri jussi: quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum; et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit.[5] Jam primum omnium urbs lustrata est, hostiaeque majores, quibus editum est,[6] diis caesae; et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta[7] Lanuvium ad Junonis portatum est; et signum aeneum matronae Junoni in Aventino[8] dedicaverunt; et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes attenuatae erant, imperatum; et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido;[9] Romae quoque et lectisternium Juventati et supplicatio ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta; et Genio[10] majores hostiae caesae quinque; et C. Atilius Serranus praetor vota suscipere jussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. Haec procurata votaque ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.

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[1] The subject is wanting, and we must understand *aliquos*; for the author himself did not know what name he should give to these beings in human form. Following popular opinion, he would have had to say *deos*.

[2] See *Gram.* § 234, note 1. We may say either *pluit lapides* or *lapidibus*, 'it rains stones,' or 'with stones.'

[3] 'That the lots shrunk in,' or 'were diminished in size.' These lots consisted of little wooden tablets, with an ancient writing on them.

[4] *Scil. Sibyllinos.* The story regarding the manner in which these books came into the possession of the Romans is well known. A college of priests had been instituted, and consisted in the time of Hannibal of ten members, whose duty it was, at the command of the senate, issued when anything very marvellous occurred, to consult the books, and communicate from them the mode in which bad omens were to be averted, or good assisted (both *procurari*).

[5] 'The whole of the citizens were engaged from time to time in the care (*procuratio*) of other prodigies;' for *operari* is particularly used of the performance of religious duties.

[6] 'To those gods to whom, according to the prophetical books, they were to be offered.' *Edere* is the proper expression for an intimation from the gods by oracles, prophecies, lots, and the like.

[7] 'Of forty pounds of gold.' See *Gram.* § 79, note 3. *Ad Junonis, scil. aedem*, as to which ellipsis, see Zumpt, § 762.

[8] 'On the Aventine;' that is, in the temple of Juno Regina on the Aventine. This temple, according to Livy, v. 23, was erected in honour of the statue of Juno, which was carried away from Veii when that city was taken by Camillus.

[9] 'On Mount Algidus,' between Velitrae and Praeneste.

[10] 'To the Genius'—namely, of the Roman people, for whose safety the prayers were offered up.

63. Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae legiones, quae Placentiae hibernabant, sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus Idibus Martiis[1] Arimini adesset in castris. Huic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat,[2] memori veterum certaminum cum Patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul, prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat;[3] invisus etiam Patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum atque uno Patrum adjuvante C. Flaminio, tulerat, ne quis senator, cuive senator pater fuisset, maritimam navem, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet.[4] Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos: quaestus omnis Patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum[5] mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis jam ante Patribus movit. Non cum senatu modo, sed jam cum diis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere.[6] Consulem ante inauspicato[7] factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia spre-

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[1] This was the day on which the new consuls entered on their office. The 1st of January was not appointed for this purpose till the year 153 B. C.

[2] *Huic consilium erat* is = *hic constituerat*, and is therefore followed by the infinitive. See *Gram.* § 396, note 3.

[3] Flaminius, in his tribuneship, 228 B. C., had, contrary to the will of the senate, carried a law for the division of the *ager Gallicus* and *Picenus* among the Roman citizens: in his first consulship, 223 B. C., he was commanded by the senate to return instantly, and without fighting, from the war against the Insubrian Gauls, because the auspices at his election had been unfavourable; but he disobeyed the order, and his enemies attempted, unsuccessfully, however, to withhold from him the honour of a triumph.

[4] As to this measure of what we call the 'tonnage' of the ship, see Zumpt, § 876. The senators and their sons were not to be traders.

[5] *Feriae Latinae* was the name given to an ancient solemnity commemorative of the league between Rome and the *nomen Latinum*. This was annually celebrated on the Alban Mount at the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, and the consuls and all the magistrates of the Roman people were commonly present.

[6] Namely, 'they said:' the indirect speech introduced without any notice, but seen in the accusative with the infinitive.

[7] As to the formation of this adverb, see *Gram.* § 219, *b.*

torum et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem[1] fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Jovis Optimi Maximi templum adiret; ne senatum invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque; ne Latinas indiceret, Jovique Latiari sollemne sacrum in monte faceret; ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam furtim[2] haud aliter quam si exilii causa solum vertisset.[3] Magis pro majestate videlicet[4] imperii Arimini quam Romae magistratum initurum, et in deversorio hospitali quam apud penates suos praetextam sumpturum Revocandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt, et cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis, quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret. In eam legationem (legatos enim mitti placuit) Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis[5] eum moverunt, quam priore consulatu litterae moverant ab senatu missae. Paucos post dies magistratum iniit, immolantique ei vitulus jam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circumstantes cruore respersit. Fuga procul etiam major apud ignaros quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio praetore acceptis, in Etruriam per Apennini tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.

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[1] Before a person invested with the *imperium* left Rome for a war, he made a vow to Jupiter Capitolinus, promising, if success were vouchsafed to his arms, to consecrate to the god certain gifts which he mentioned (these are the *vota, quae nuncupantur*): and then with all military pomp marched out of the city wearing the *paludamentum*, the war-cloak of a commander.

[2] 'Secretly, and like a thief.' Compare Zumpt, § 742.

[3] *Solum vertere*, said of one who left the *ager Romanus*=*solum mutare*.

[4] Ironical. See Zumpt, § 345, *sub fin.*

[5] 'More by nothing,' 'no more;' that is, just as little.

LIBER XXII.

(1) Hannibal leaves his winter quarters. Cn. Servilius enters on his consulship at Rome. Prodigies. (2) Hannibal sets out for Etruria, and, during fatiguing marches through swamps, loses the sight of one eye. (3) The consul Flaminius, contrary to the advice of his officers, and with bad omens, commences his march against Hannibal. (4–6) The battle of Lake Trasimenus. (7) The effect produced at Rome by the announcement of the disastrous defeat. (8) Four thousand men taken by Hannibal in Umbria; Q. Fabius Maximus created prodictator; and M. Minucius Rufus master of the horse. (9) The Sibylline books consulted. (10) A *ver sacrum* decreed. (11) Arrangements for the war. (12) Fabius baffles Hannibal by avoiding a battle. (13) Hannibal led considerably out of his way by a mistake of his guide. (14) Manucius, the master of the horse, inveighs against the inactivity of Fabius. (15) Mancinus, a young officer sent out by Fabius with four hundred horsemen to reconnoitre, is attacked by a party of Hannibal's cavalry, and slain with the best of his followers. (16–17) Hannibal is shut in by Fabius in a place unsuited for wintering, but escapes by a stratagem. (18) Fabius follows Hannibal about the country, always keeping near him, but never engaging with him. He is recalled to Rome to perform some religious duties, and leaves Minucius in command, conjuring him to continue the cautious mode of operation. (19) The war in Spain. A sea-fight, in which the Romans are victorious. (20) Cn. Scipio makes a very successful excursion with his fleet. (21) Movements in Spain continued. (22) The hostages given by the Spanish tribes to the Carthaginians, and kept at Saguntum, are set free by Scipio, through means of Abelux, a wily Spaniard. (23) Remarks on the character of Fabius, with illustrative anecdotes. (24) A battle between Minucius and Hannibal, rather favourable to the former. (25) Minucius obtains equal authority with Fabius. (26) A short account of the previous history of C. Terentius Varro, the only man who was found to speak in support of the bill giving Minucius this power. (27) The exulting joy of Minucius; Fabius and he divide the troops, and occupy separate camps. (28–29) Minucius engages with Hannibal, and is worsted, but is supported and brought off by Fabius. (30) Minucius returns thanks to Fabius, and voluntarily reassumes his subordinate station. (31) Servilius the consul lands in Africa, but is unfortunate, and forced to return to Sicily. (32) Fabius and Minucius, their six months' power being at an end,

give up the command of their troops to Servilius and Atilius the consuls: these continue the system of Fabius. Neapolitan ambassadors come with presents to Rome. (33) Ambassadors sent to Philip of Macedonia and to the Ligurians. (34) The comitia for electing consuls held. Great contest between the patricians and plebeians. (35) C. Terentius Varro and L. Aemilius Paullus created consuls. (36) New troops levied. Prodigies. (37) Presents from Hiero of corn, money, and soldiers. (38) Varro, before leaving the city, delivers many speeches, announcing that he intends to finish the war on the day that he shall first meet the enemy. Paullus is much more cautious in his statements. (39) An address delivered by Q. Fabius Maximus to Paullus. (40) The new consuls proceed to the seat of war. (41–42) Hannibal fails in a stratagem. (43–49) CANNAE. This battle was fought August 2, 216 B.C. (50) A considerable number of Roman soldiers escape to each of the camps (for they had pitched two). Six hundred of those in the smaller camp escape to the other, and from it to Canusium. (51) The appearance of the field after the battle. (52) Those left in the two Roman camps surrender to Hannibal, bargaining to be set free upon the payment of a certain sum of money for each. (53) Proceedings among the fugitives at Canusium. (54) The alarm at Rome. (55) The senate meets. Fabius Maximus gives his advice. (56) News from Sicily. (57) A levy held. (58) A deputation from the prisoners comes to Rome, to ask money for their release. (59) The speech of M. Junius, the leader of the deputation. (60) The oration of T. Manlius Torquatus, opposing the grant of money. (61) The application of the captives is refused. Some tribes revolt from the Romans to the Carthaginians.

JAM ver appetebat, cum Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequicquam ante conatus transcendere Apenninum intolerandis frigoribus, et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Gallis, quos praedae populationumque conciverat spes, postquam pro eo ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis viderunt, verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia;[1] petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate, qua consenserant concensum indicantium, servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem nunc tegumenta capitis, errore etiam sese ab

[1] 'To the Gauls (that is, in the minds of the Gauls) hatred turned back upon Hannibal.' *Gallis* is the reading of the best manuscripts, and *verterunt* is often=*sese verterunt* or *versa sunt;* see Zumpt, § 145. The editions read *Galli*, 'the Gauls turned their hatred against Hannibal,' which is also good.

insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae Idibus Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de re publica rettulisset,[1] redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est. Duos se consules creasse, unum habere. Quod enim illi justum imperium, quod auspicium esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis secum ferre. Nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra concipere posse.[2] Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nunciata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigilias equiti scipionem, quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem minui visum; et Praeneste ardentes lapides coelo cecidisse; et Arpis parmas in coelo visas pugnantemque cum luna solem; et Capenae duas interdiu lunas ortas, et aquas Caeretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse, fontemque ipsorum[3] Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis; et in Antiati[4] metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse; et Faleriis coelum findi velut magno hiatu visum, quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse; sortes sua sponte attenuatas, unamque excidisse ita scriptam[5] *Mavors telum suum concutit;* et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis Appia via ac simulacra luporum[6] sudasse, et Capuae speciem coeli ardentis fuisse lunaeque inter imbrem cadentis. Inde mino-

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[1] *Consul refert ad senatum de re publica,* 'the consul lays proposals before the senate relating to the common weal, or the interests of the state.'

[2] Flaminius should have taken the auspices at home, on Roman ground, and on the day of his entering on his office. The reader may observe here how faithfully Livy narrates all these transgressions of religious custom; knowing, as he did, the disastrous issue of the campaign. Had Flaminius conquered, we should have heard a great deal less about these scruples. Flaminius was a freethinker in a superstitious age.

[3] 'The fountain of Hercules among the same people;' namely, the inhabitants of Caere, which must be taken out of the adjective *Caeretes:* as to the form of this adjective, see *Gram.* § 209, 4, note. The editions read falsely *ipsum;* with it, the place is not mentioned, and no satisfactory reason can be given why an emphasis is laid on 'the fountain *itself,*' or 'the *very* fountain.'

[4] 'In the district of Antium;' *scil. agro.* Comp. *Gram.* § 209, 3.

[5] Equivalent to *inscriptam.*

[6] 'The (brazen) images of the wolves,' which no doubt stood near the god of war as his attendants.

ribus etiam dictu prodigiis[1] fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam[2] sese vertisse. His, sicut erant nunciata, expositis, auctoribusque in curiam introductis, consul de religione Patres consuluit. Decretum ut ea prodigia partim majoribus hostiis partim lactentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur; cetera, cum decemviri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quemadmodum cordi esse divis carminibus profarentur.[3] Decemvirorum monitu decretum est, Jovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, Junoni Minervaeque ex argento dona darentur, et Junoni Reginae in Aventino[4] Junonique Sospitae Lanuvii majoribus hostiis sacrificaretur; matronaeque pecunia collata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Junoni Reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret; quin ut libertinae et ipsae, unde Feroniae[5] donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae[6] in foro majoribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri jam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum (et eum lectum senatores straverunt) et convivium publicum; ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata,[7] populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum jussus.

2. Dum consul placandis Romae diis habendoque delectu[8] dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia jam Flaminium consulem Arretium praevenisse fama erat,[9] cum

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[1] 'Prodigies too trifling (because too absurd) even to be mentioned.'

[2] See *Gram.* § 46, note 1.

[3] 'As they (the decemvirs) should announce from the books to be agreeable to the gods.' The verb *fari* and its compounds have something antique and solemn about them. Comp. Zumpt, § 220.

[4] See page 263, note 8.

[5] Feronia, an old Italian divinity, who presided over natural fertility.

[6] Why at Ardea, the old Italian town on the sea-coast, since no prodigy has been mentioned as occurring there? Probably the expiatory sacrifice was occasioned by the sea-shore's having been seen burning, or at least having appeared luminous.

[7] 'The Saturnalia were shouted;' that is, celebrated with joyful cries, and invocations of the gods (*Io Saturne!*) A festival of joy was thus proclaimed in a time of sorrow: it was wisely done, to raise the spirits of the people in the name of religion. The Saturnalia, in which our merry doings at Christmas took their origin, were always celebrated with great jollity, and with the utmost heedlessness of all the distinctions of rank.

[8] For *delectui;* see *Gram.* § 71, note 2.

[9] Flaminius had anticipated the enemy in occupying Etruria,

aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propiorem viam per paludem petit, qua fluvius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et Afros et omne veterani robur exercitus, admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire jussit; sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset; novissimos ire equites; Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque viae, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, qua modo praeirent duces, per praealtas fluvii ac profundas voragines,[1] hausti pene limo immergentesque se tamen signa sequebantur. Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque assurgere ex voraginibus poterant, aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel victis taedio animis procubuissent, inter jumenta et ipsa jacentia passim morientes.[2] Maximeque omnium vigiliae conficiebant per quatriduum jam et tres noctes toleratae. Cum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora, inveniri posset: cumulatis in aquas sarcinis insuper incumbebant; jumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum, quod extaret aqua, quaerentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant.[3] Ipse Hannibal aeger oculis ex verna primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua extaret, vectus, vigiliis tandem[4] et nocturno humore palustrique coelo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.[5]

3. Multis hominibus jumentisque foede amissis cum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat: certumque per praemissos exploratores habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arretii moenia esse. Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque

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though it might have been expected that Hannibal would proceed through Cisalpine Gaul to Arminium. No doubt Flaminius, when taking up his position at Arretium (now Arezzo), in the higher part of Etruria, had at the same time obtained the command of the road from Gaul into Etruria; thus forcing Hannibal to take the route across the lower part of the Arno, between Florence and Pisa.

[1] 'Deep and bottomless holes,' a pleonasm.

[2] A very good exhibition of the Celtic character — warlike and excitable, but not steady or persevering.

[3] 'The heaps of fallen beasts afforded them a restingplace only in so far as it rose out of the water.'

[4] 'At last,' pointing back to *primum*.

[5] Compare xxi. 58, p. 258, note 5. Hannibal saw henceforward only with the left eye.

et copias ad commeatus expediendos, et cetera quae cognosse in rem erat,[1] summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter[2] Arretiumque jacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti. Consul ferox ab consulatu priore, et non modo legum aut Patrum majestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens.[3] Hanc insitam ingenio ejus temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum. Quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque irritare Poenus parat; et laeva relicto hoste Faesulas petens, medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quantam maximam vastitatem potest, caedibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique[4] vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam jam Italiam vagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo[5] ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus, collegam expectandum, ut conjunctis exercitibus, communi animo consilioque rem gererent; interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum: iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnaeque proposuit. 'Quin immo Arretii ante moenia sedeamus' inquit: 'hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italiam, vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana moenia perveniat; nec ante nos hinc moverimus quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veiis,[6] C. Flaminium ab Arretio Patres acciverint.' Haec simul increpans, cum ocius signa convelli juberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit consulemque

[1] Equivalent to *quorum cognitio expediebat* or *proderat;* literally, 'to be acquainted with what was conducive to the successful carrying on of the affair—that is, the war.' *Aliquid est in rem,* 'something is useful for an affair;' compare the English expression, 'to the point.'

[2] As to the position of the preposition, see Zumpt, § 324.

[3] For *metuens* governing the genitive, see *Gram.* § 277, 1.

[4] *Ferre et agere* is a fuller expression for 'to plunder;' the former term referring to the carrying off of valuables, furniture, and the like; and the latter to the driving away of cattle. The Greeks have the same expression, φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν.

[5] Not *nemine.* See Zumpt, § 676, *sub fin.*

[6] When Rome was in the possession of the Gauls, Camillus went to its deliverance from Veii; to which, after the taking of the city, the routed army had retired.

lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut foedo omine incipiendae rei, insuper nunciatur signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuncium 'Num litteras quoque' inquit 'ab senatu affers, quae me rem gerere vetent? Abi, nuncia, effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerint.' Incedere inde agmen coepit, primoribus, superquam[1] quod dissenserant a consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus[2] laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

4. Hannibal, quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasimenumque lacum, omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum injurias acuat. Et jam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses in Trasimenum sidunt.[3] Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles adinsurgunt.[4] Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret. Baleares ceteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat, ut ubi intrassent Romani, objecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die, vixdum satis certa luce, angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit: ab tergo ac super caput decepere insidiae.[5] Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod

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[1] Equivalent to *praeterquam*.

[2] 'Commonly, for the mass, for the most part;' analogous to *in universum*.

[3] 'The hills of Cortona sink down to the lake.' The scene of the battle is on the northern bank of the lake, where now the road runs from Cortona to Arezzo (Arretium). About half-way along this road, near the modern Passignano, stand the hills where Hannibal pitched his camp. In order to reach Cortona, and to make the attack from that point, the Romans entered the defile between the hills and the lake, without observing the hostile troops stationed behind the nearest hills on their left.

[4] We have, in accordance with the manuscripts, introduced *adinsurgunt*, instead of the ordinary *assurgunt*. *Adinsurgere* is a doubly-compounded verb, like *adimplere*, containing the idea of addition.

[5] 'The ambush escaped him;' *decipere*, like *fallere*, means both 'to deceive,' and 'to escape the notice of.'

orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto, quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit; et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

5. Consul perculsis omnibus ipse satis, ut in trepida re, impavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit ut tempus locusque patitur; et quacunque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare et pugnare jubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione deum, sed vi ac virtute evadendum esse. Per medias acies ferro viam fieri; et quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse. Ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat; tantumque aberat ut sua signa atque ordinem et locum nosceret miles, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus,[1] opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis his quam tecti.[2] Et erat in tanta caligine major usus aurium quam oculorum: ad gemitus vulnerum[3] ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepentium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati haerebant; alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde ubi in omnes partes nequicquam impetus capti,[4] et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuitque nullam nisi in dextra ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam, et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque[5] ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset. Fors conglobat, et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit ardor armorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbium

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[1] 'That they had scarcely their wits about them sufficiently to.'

[2] Naturally enough, because the Romans, when on the march, carried their helmets and shields at their backs.

[3] A somewhat free use of the genitive, no doubt on account of its connection with the following *ictus corporum*, for *ob vulnera*.

[4] *Capere impetum*, 'to make an attack,' or rather, 'an attempt at an attack.'

[5] More strictly, *per hastatos et principes*, for the companies of the *hastati* fought in the first line, those of the *principes* in the second. The author, however, thinks merely of the three divisions of the legion, not of their order of place.

Italiae magnas partes prostravit, avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus invexit,[1] montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.[2]

6. Tres ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrociter. Circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est.[3] Eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacunque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat opem: insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques (Ducario nomen erat) facie quoque noscitans 'Consul en' inquit 'hic est' popularibus suis,[4] 'qui legiones[5] nostras cecidit, agrosque et urbem est depopulatus. Jam ego hanc victimam Manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo:' subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit; obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam objecerat,[6] consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii objectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit: et jam nec lacus nec montes obstabant pavori. Per omnia arta praeruptaque velut caeci evadunt; armaque et viri super alium alii praecipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus humerisque extare possunt, sese immergunt. Fuere quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit, quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus, aut nequicquam fessi vada retro aegerrime repetebant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex milia ferme primi agminis, per adversos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari

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[1] Carried the waters of the sea inland, and up the mouths of rivers.

[2] The fact that an earthquake occurred in Italy on the day of the battle at Lake Trasimenus, without the combatants being sensible of it, is mentioned also by other authors; particularly by Cicero, in his treatise 'De Divinatione,' and by Pliny in his 'Natural History.'

[3] The *est* is remarkable here; the present, however, serves to make the narrative more lively.

[4] *Inquit*, which introduces a direct speech, is not unfrequently followed by a dative of the person spoken to: for example, *inquit mihi*, *inquit ei*.

[5] Livy sometimes applies this peculiarly Roman term to the divisions of troops among other nations: thus, *Gallicae*, *Etruscae*, *Punicae legiones*.

[6] *Obviam* might have been omitted, but Livy is somewhat in the habit of subjoining to a verb compounded with a preposition another word conveying the same sense as the preposition: thus, shortly afterwards, *retro repetere;* and elsewhere, *rursus restituere*, *rursus repetere*, *rursus revocare*, *ante praeoccupare*, *prius praecipere*, and the like.

omnium quae post se agerentur ex saltu evasere, et cum in tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset neque scire nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. Inclinata denique re, cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida jam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem. Itaque ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublatis raptim signis, quam citatissimo poterant agmine, sese abripuerunt.[1] Postero die, cum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt. Quae Punica religione[2] servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes conjecit.

7. Haec est nobilis ad Trasimenum pugna atque inter paucas[3] memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa sunt; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam aversis itineribus[4] urbem petiere. Mille quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea ex vulneribus periere. Multiplex[5] caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis: ego praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium[6] aequalem temporibus hujusce belli potissimum auctorem habui. Han-

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[1] This must have happened on the road to Perusia.

[2] 'With Punic faith,' which, in the opinion of the Romans, was equivalent to none at all. The *atque* in the next clause is not without its emphatic meaning. Compare Zumpt, § 333, middle.

[3] *Inter paucos, as, a* (according to the gender of the substantive), is nothing else than a periphrasis for the superlative, =*imprimis*, 'highly, remarkably'—literally, 'among few;' that is, 'so very high, as to have but few equals, few standing around it.' The expression here is by no means an assertion that the Romans sustained few defeats, but few as disastrous as that at Trasimene. We say *homo inter paucos disertus*, 'a man possessed of eloquence such as few attain to.'—*Memorata* = *memorabilis*, 'mentioned,' for 'worthy of mention, memorable,' a natural enough use of the past participle. Compare Zumpt, § 328, middle.

[4] 'By by-roads,' for, as may easily be conceived, the enemy was in hot pursuit along the direct roads. The reading of the editions here is *diversis*, but this is an unnecessary change.

[5] 'Many times greater,' for *multiplex*, properly merely 'manifold,' has sometimes this additional meaning: as, for instance, in vii. 8. *multiplex quam pro numero damnum est.*

[6] Fabius Pictor is meant, and Livy alludes not to his great historical work, entitled 'Annales,' which comprehended the more ancient history of Rome, but to his Greek work, Ἀπομνημονεύματα, *Memorabilia*, being an account of the memorable events which had happened during his own lifetime.

nibal, captivorum qui Latini nominis essent sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri jussisset, Flaminii quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

Romae ad primum nuncium cladis ejus cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades allata quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunctantur. Et cum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor 'Pugna' inquit 'magna victi sumus.' Et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos[1] referunt consulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum; superesse paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas dispertiti animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium quae cujusque suorum fortuna esset: nec quisquam satis certum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas major prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuncios de his opperiens; circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique[2] ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nunciis cerneres, ut cuique laeta aut tristia nunciabantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum praecipue et guadia insignia erant et luctus. Unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in conspectu ejus expirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii falso nunciata erat, maestam sedentem domi, ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

8. Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nunciatur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Centenio propraetore missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasimenum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Ejus rei fama varie homines affecit. Pars, occupatis majore aegritudine animis, levem ex

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[1] 'Home.' We have here, and again shortly afterwards, the plural, because referring to a number of persons who had separate houses. See *Gram.* § 257, note 4.

[2] 'Particularly.' See xxi. 48, note.

comparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum jacturam; pars non id quod acciderat per se aestimare, sed ut in affecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum aegrae et affectae civitati quodcunque adversi inciderit, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quae nihil quod aggravaret pati possent, aestimandum esse.[1] Itaque ad remedium jam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit. Et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuncium aut litteras mitti, nec dictatorem populus creare poterat, quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat, prodictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum.[2] Hisque negotium ab senatu datum ut muros turresque urbis firmarent, et praesidia disponerent quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: ad penates pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

9. Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletium[3] venit. Inde, cum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, conjectans ex unius coloniae haud nimis prospere tentatae viribus quanta moles Romanae urbis esset, in agrum Picenum

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[1] *Aestimare sed—aestimandum esse* must be explained by the supplement of a verb of thinking, answering to *aestimare*, and put like it in the historical infinitive; either *putare*, *credere*, *censere*, or, from the previous sentence, *ducere*. Translate thus: 'a part (some) considered the affair in itself of little moment, but thought that, as in a diseased body, any circumstance, however slight, is felt more severely than by a healthy person; so now, whatever misfortune befell the sick and diseased state, must be estimated, not by the importance of the matter itself, but by the weakened strength which could bear no additional burden.' *Quamvis*, an adverb, as frequently. *Valido* may either be explained by supplying *in* from the preceding part of the clause, as equivalent to *in valido corpore*, or to be regarded as the dative masculine for 'a healthy man.'

[2] A consul alone, by virtue of a commission from the senate, could *name* (that is, nominate, choose according to his own judgment) a dictator. Here, however, a remedy was found, for the people *created* (*creavit*, not *dixit*) a vice-dictator, with the same powers as an actual dictator: thus avoiding a breach of form.

[3] 'On the straight road;' namely, towards Rome. He no doubt crossed the Tiber in the neighbourhood of Perusia, intending to push on along the road—which is still in use—past Fulginium (now Foligno), Spoletium (Spoleto), Interamna (Terni), and Narnia (Narni), towards Rome. But at Spoletium he forsook his southern direction, and turned eastwards into the districts on the gulf of Venice.

avertit iter, non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refertum praeda,[1] quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via proelioque magis ad eventum secundo quam levi aut facili[2] affectus. Ubi satis quietis datum praeda ac populationibus magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus,[3] profectus Praetutianum Hadrianumque agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Pelignos devastat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliae regionem. Cn. Servilius consul levibus proeliis cum Gallis actis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegae exercitusque caede audivit, jam moenibus patriae metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum,[4] quo die magistratum iniit, vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, cum edocuisset Patres plus negligentia caerimoniarum auspiciorumque quam temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, quaeque piacula irae deum essent, ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit,[5] ut, quod non ferme decernitur nisi cum tetra prodigia nunciata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire juberentur. Qui inspectis fatalibus libris retulerunt Patribus quod ejus belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque amplius faciendum esse; et Jovi ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erycinae[6] ac Menti vovendas esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum, et ver sacrum[7] vovendum, si bellatum prospere esset, resque publica

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[1] That is, with things which the army might take away with them, a soldier not looking upon provisions as booty.

[2] The battle of Trasimene was neither *levis*—that is, without loss on the part of the conquerors—nor *facilis*, gained with ease.

[3] For the booty-loving soldiers a few days' rest in the standing camp was quite sufficient.

[4] It was not observed above that Q. Fabius Maximus had already been dictator once, several years before this time. He had been named in order to hold the consular comitia, the consuls previously chosen having resigned on the discovery of an informality in their election.

[5] 'He prevailed.' This word suggests that there was a strong opposition in the senate to the dictator's hypocritical proposal.

[6] 'To the Venus of Mount Eryx,' under which title she had been received into the city after the first Punic war. To the goddess Mens, the personification of intelligent reflection, there was certainly good reason to commend the Roman state.

[7] A *ver sacrum*, as appears from the following chapter, was a spring in which all calves, lambs, and the like, born within it were given in sacrifice to the gods. This vow was not fulfilled till the year 194 B. C., twenty-three years afterwards, as we are told by Livy in xxxiii. 44, and xxxiv. 44.

in eodem quo ante bellum fuisset statu permansisset. Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Aemilium praetorem ex collegii pontificum sententia, omnia ea ut mature fiant, curare jubet.

✓ 10. His senatus consultis perfectis L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus, consulente collegio praetorum, omnium primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censet: injussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in haec verba populus Velitis jubeatis[1] hoc sic fieri: si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut velim eam, salva servata erit hisce duellis, datum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium[2] (quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est, quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt, quive cis Alpes sunt[3]) quod ver attulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo grege, quaeque profana erunt, Jovi fieri[4] ex qua die senatus populusque jusserit. Qui faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet, facito: quo modo faxit,[5] probe factum esto. Si id moritur quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto.[6] Si quis rumpet[7] occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto. Si quis clepsit,[8] ne populo scelus

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[1] *Velitis jubeatis* stands for the imperative, a form for that mood being wanting to *velle:* 'may you will and command,' for 'will and command.' On this account the ordinary reading *velitis jubeatisne*, with *ne* subjoined, is untenable. As to this use of two almost equivalent words without a conjunction, see Zumpt, § 742, *sub fin.*, and § 783.

[2] 'Then let the Roman people of the Quirites present a gift and present.' *Datum donum*, two equivalent words placed together in official language, as observed in previous note: as to *duit*, see *Gram.* § 146, 4.

[3] By this parenthesis the words *hisce duellis* (antique for *bellis*) are more precisely explained. These are the wars with the Carthaginians, and the Gauls, and other tribes on this side of the Alps, particularly Ligurians, who had sided with Hannibal. On this account we have, in accordance with the manuscripts, introduced *quive* for the simple *qui*.

[4] 'That whatever the spring shall have brought from the herds, &c., at least what thereof is unconsecrated, shall be offered to Jupiter.' This accusative with the infinitive, *id fieri*, must be looked upon as in opposition to *datum donum : facere* is used in the sense of *sacrificare*. *Profana* are such things as do not belong to a god, or have not been given to him by vow. Here consequently the exceptions are the young of cattle which belong to temple-herds, and abortions, which cannot be offered to the gods.

[5] For *fecerit : Gram.* § 146, 6.

[6] *Profanum esto* means here 'then shall it not belong to the god (that is, be offered to him),' *neque scelus esto*, 'without its owner's thereby committing a crime against Heaven.'

[7] Equivalent to *corrumpet*.

[8] For *clepserit*, from the old proverb *clepere*, 'to steal.'

esto, neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die[1] faxit insciens, probe factum esto. Si noctе sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si antidea[2] senatus populusque jusserit fieri ac faxit, eo populus solutus liber esto.' Ejusdem rei causa ludi magni voti aeris trecentis triginta tribus milibus trecentis triginta tribus triente;[3] praeterea bubus Jovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis supplicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum conjugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium etiam quos in aliqua sua fortuna publicae quoque contingebat cura.[4] Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum, decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt, Jovi ac Junoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio ac Cereri. Tum aedes votae.[5] Veneri Erycinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret cujus maximum imperium in civitate esset. Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor vovit.

11. Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello reque de publica[6] dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse Patres censerent. Decretum ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet praeterea ex civibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum videretur;

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[1] *Atri dies*, days marked with black in the Roman calendar, either on account of some disastrous event in Roman annals, or for religious reasons. On such days it was improper to commence any important undertaking, or to offer a sacrifice.

[2] *Antidea* for *antea*, which is compounded of the preposition *ante* and the ablative of *is*, the equivalent *antehac* being from *ante* and the ablative of *hic*. In the early language a *d* was thrown in to avoid the hiatus.

[3] 'For (at the expense of) 333,333$\frac{1}{3}$ ases,' for *aes* is collective for *asses*, 'copper' for 'copper coins.'

[4] 'Who, in regard to any private fortune which they had to lose, were concerned in caring for the public weal;' that is, whose own fortunes would be lost if the republic did not stand. *Fortuna* has properly the sense of 'goods, property,' only in the plural, but not unfrequently also in the singular.

[5] *Vovere* was to declare publicly, to promise to a god, that a temple would be built: after it was built followed the *dedicatio*. It was considered a high honour to be intrusted with either duty.

[6] More commonly, without repeating the preposition, *reque publica;* or repeating it, *deque re publica:* but *res publica* is not properly one word. *De* is rarely put after the substantive which it governs. Zumpt, § 324.

cetera omnia ageret faceretque ut e re publica[1] duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adjecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit. Edictoque proposito ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti[2] commigrarent in loca tuta; ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis ejus, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cujus rei copia esset; ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exercituique, cum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se prodeuntem, viatorem misit qui consuli nunciaret ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui cum dicto paruisset, congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturae apud cives sociosque vetustate[3] jam prope oblitos ejus imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe allatae sunt naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum[4] captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci jussus, navibusque quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent completis milite ac navalibus sociis persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiae tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et aetas militaris, in verba juraverant.[5] Ex hoc urbano exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant, in naves impositi; alii, ut urbi praesiderent, relicti.

12. Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo die ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Praeneste, ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus,[6] unde itineri-

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[1] 'For the interest (good) of the state.' Zumpt, § 309, *fin.*

[2] As to the repetition of *ut*, see Zumpt, § 757. In English, 'that' is often repeated in the same manner, though no doubt in strict grammar the practice is incorrect.

[3] There had been no *dictator rei gerendae causa* (that is, dictator to act as supreme military leader) since Atilius Calatinus in the first Punic war, 249 B.C.

[4] On the Etruscan coast, and so called from the town of Cosa.

[5] 'Had taken the oath;' literally, 'had sworn according to the formula of an oath read over to them.' As the name of the chief magistrate was mentioned in it, the usual expression is *jurare in verba* or *in nomen Q. Fabii* (or any one else, as the case may be). The clause *quibus liberi essent*, 'who had children,' indicates that these freedmen were preferable to the others of their class, because they had a stake in the country. It was a leading principle in the ancient republics to exclude from the army people who were poor and needy, and could give no personal security for their fidelity.

[6] The *via Latina* leads from Rome southwards by Ferentinum, Frusino, and Fregellae to Campania. As the dictator marched by

bus summa cum cura exploratis ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunae se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis[1] in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta quin Poenus educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi faceret. Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem victos tandem Martios animos Romanis, debellatumque et concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse,[2] in castra rediit: ceterum tacita cura animum incessit, quod cum duce handquaquam Flaminio Sempronioque simili futura sibi res esset, ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quaesissent. Et prudentiam quidem novi ductoris extemplo timuit: constantiam hauddum expertus, agitare ac tentare animum movendo crebro castra populandoque in oculis ejus agros sociorum coepit. Et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viae, si excipere degressum in aequum posset, occultus obsistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat, modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque congrederetur.[3] Castris, nisi quantum usus necessario cogeret, tenebatur miles. Pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim. Equitum levisque armaturae statio,[4] composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus praebebat. Neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur; et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum, finitimoque receptu,[5] assuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus jam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunae poenitere[6] suae. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum: qui nihil aliud quam quod impar erat imperio, morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam habebat, ferox rapidusque in consiliis, ac lingua immodicus. Primo inter paucos, dein propalam in

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Tibur and Praeneste without going to Rome, he necessarily had to proceed by 'cross paths' into the regular beaten road.

[1] A city in Apulia, not far from the colony of Luceria, on which, no doubt, the Romans principally depended.

[2] 'Taunting the Romans, indeed, that their martial spirit was subdued, that the war was brought to an end, and that they had publicly renounced their claims to valour and glory.'

[3] 'So that he neither lost sight of him, nor engaged with him.'

[4] 'An outpost of cavalry and light infantry.'

[5] 'Slight successes gained in skirmishes, which were begun from a point of safety, and with a secure place of retreat near.'

[6] *Poenitere* means not merely 'to repent,' but also 'to feel vexed, grieved, disgusted with anything as insufficient and unsatisfactory.'

vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat; premendoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus[1] crevit, sese extollebat.

13. Hannibal ex Hirpinis[2] in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit: irritat etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum tot indignitatibus cladibusque sociorum detrahere ad aequum certamen[3] possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasimenum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis jam tum illecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nunciantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuae potiendae copiam fore, cum res major quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen, ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret, moverunt. Monitos etiam atque etiam promissa rebus affirmarent,[4] jussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum.[5] Sed Punicum abhorrens os ab Latinorum nominum prolatione pro Casino Casilinum dux ut acciperet fecit; aversusque ab suo

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[1] 'By too favourable results with many;' that is, by being too successful with many.

[2] Hannibal had been in Apulia. He must therefore have advanced nearer Rome by passing into the next district—that of the Hirpini. These were a Samnite race, settled south of the Caudini and Pentri. One of their towns was Abellinum, which still exists under the same name; and in xxiii. 1, Compsa is mentioned as belonging to them.

[3] That is, to battle in the plain.

[4] 'After they had been again and again exhorted to prove the truth of their promises by deeds.' We have struck out *ut* after *monitos*, because *etiam atque etiam* belongs to the verb *monere*, which again is often followed by the subjunctive without *ut*.

[5] Casinum, a Roman colony, was so situated, that any one who had possession of the road there could cut off all communication between the mountainous district and the plain country on the sea-coast. The modern name is St. Germano; that is to say, at the foot of the hill Monte Casino, on which stood the ancient city, there is now a town of that name. In the following sentence we have adopted the emendation of Drakenborch, the words *os* and *prolatione* being wanting in the manuscripts; other attempts to restore the correct sense are not satisfactory. The confounding of *Casinum* and *Casilinum* is probably to be explained by the supposition that Hannibal pronounced the *s* in *Casinum* thick, like a Phoenician *shin* (sh).

itinere per Allifanum Calatinumque et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatem[1] descendit. Ubi cum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum esset. Cum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse; virgisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum[2] praedatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea pervenit. Ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius, Numidae fecerunt. Nec tamen is terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia justo et moderato regebantur imperio, nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.[3]

14. Ut vero, cum ad Vulturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager villaeque passim incendiis fumabant, per juga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa. Quieverant[4] enim per paucos dies, quia cum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Ut vero in extrema juga Massici montis ventum, et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, 'Spectatumne huc,' inquit Minucius, 'ut rem fruendam oculis, sociorum caedes et incendia venimus? Nec si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem horum pudet,[5] quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta haec ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra

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[1] The *Campus Stellatis* on the river Vulturnus was the northern part of the flat country called *Campania Propria*, which comprehended the city of Capua and the territory belonging to it. A more fertile district Hannibal could not have entered; but he perceived at once the insecurity of his position, for he was almost encircled by hostile cities, Capua being to the south; the Roman towns of Sinuessa, Minturnae, and Formiae to the west on the sea-coast; and the colonies of Cales, Saticula, and Casinum to the east.

[2] At the foot of the hill called Massicus, north of the river Vulturnus, and only separated by it from the above-mentioned Stellatian plain.

[3] This, namely, is the only firm bond of faith, when he, whom one is bound to obey, is also morally the superior.

[4] 'They (that is, those anxious for more active proceedings, and particularly the admirers of Minucius) had remained quiet—obedient and submissive to the dictator's commands.

[5] 'Are we not ashamed, supposing before no other, even before our own fellow-citizens?' See Zumpt, § 443.

cunctatione et socordia jam huc progressus. Tantum, pro! degeneramus a patribus nostris, ut praeter quam oram illi suam[1] Punicas vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum jam factam videamus? Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando[2] non homines tantum sed foedera et deos ciebamus, scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae Hannibalem laeti[3] spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, saepius nos quam deorum invocantium opem. Nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus[4] deviasque calles exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus[5] in rebus affectis quaesitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset; quam vereor ne, sic cunctantibus nobis, Hannibali ac Poenis totiens[6] servaverint majores nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate Patrum jussuque populi dictum Veios allatum est, cum esset satis altum Janiculum[7] ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in aequum, atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc busta

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[1] We have, in accordance with the best manuscripts, introduced *suam*, which is in other editions groundlessly omitted. As to the *eam*, emphatically pointing back to *quam*, see Zumpt, § 813.

[2] 'In the expression of our indignation at the siege of Saguntum, = *indignantes*, or *cum indignabamur*.

[3] The modern editions have *lenti*, 'with equanimity or indifference,' which is good; but *laeti*, the manuscript reading, is equally good, and perhaps even more suited to the spirit of the orator and of his hearers. Such a word as *laeti* here must have acted like an electric spark upon the souls of the young officers who surrounded the master of the horse.

[4] The mountains on which the Romans had their position are called 'Summer Hills,' because in summer they were used as pasture-ground. This is the case still.

[5] *Unicus* means 'the only one of his kind, distinguished above all others'—here of course ironical.

[6] This is the correct spelling, instead of the ordinary *toties*. See Zumpt, § 122.

[7] The orator thinks that M. Furius Camillus might, had he chosen, have taken up his position on a hill overlooking the enemy—the Janiculum, for instance, which was high enough for the purpose; but instead of doing so, he descended into the plain, and went in search of the enemy, falling in with them at a place which was afterwards called *Busta Gallorum*, from the number of Gauls slain and buried there. The speaker, or Livy, who moves the puppet, naturally follows the popular story that Camillus, by acts of heroism, rescued Rome from Brennus.

Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid! post multos annos cum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub jugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor juga Samnii perlustrando, an Luceriam[1] premendo obsidendoque et lacessendo victorem hostem, depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus jugum superbo Samniti imposuit! Modo[2] C. Lutatio quae alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit? Quod postero die quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque apparatu, oppressit. Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse.[3] Armari copias oportet deducendas in aequum, ut vir cum viro congrediaris. Audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quae timidi cauta vocant.' Haec velut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum[4] dicta ferocia volvebantur; ac si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant[5] Minucium Fabio duci[6] praelaturos.

15. Fabius pariter, in suos haud minus quam in hostes, intentus prius ab illis invictum animum praestat. Quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis sed jam etiam Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquum extraxit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis jam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta vineaeque[7] et consita omnia magis amoenis quam necessariis fructibus. Haec per exploratores relata Fabio. Cum satis sciret per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, rediturum,[8] Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis praesidiis,

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[1] This Roman city had been taken by the Samnites, and there they kept the hostages whom they had taken from the Romans, 321 B.C.

[2] The circumstance alluded to occurred in the year 242 B.C., twenty-six years before this time. *Modo* and *nuper* do not refer to any definite distance of time; for they vary, according to circumstances, from 'a considerable number of years ago' to 'within the last hour or two.' See Zumpt. § 287, *init.*

[3] 'That the war can be brought to a close;' for *debellare* is sometimes used absolutely (that is, without an object) in this sense.

[4] It should properly have been *et ad militum quoque aures.*

[5] 'They declared unhesitatingly:' *ferre=proferre, dicere.*

[6] Or *ducem,* for either way the word must be supplied to one of the names.

[7] In apposition to *ea regio:* 'that district—consisting of orchards and vineyards,' &c.

[8] *Scil. Hannibalem.*

quae urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum ac Campanum agros[1] dividit. Ipse jugis iisdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui[2] ex turba juvenum audientium saepe ferociter contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas vidit, per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine est animus, exciderantque praecepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum[3] prius recipere sese jusserat quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidae alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque ad castra prope ipsum cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertrahere. Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus, cum priusquam ad conjectum teli veniret avertisset hostes, quinque ferme milia continenti cursu secutus est fugientes. Mancinus postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium rediit, omni parte virium impar.[4] Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso rursus cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt.

Eo forte die Minucius se conjunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus Appiae limite[5] pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Conjunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat. Duo inde milia hostes aberant.

16. Postero die Poeni, quod viae inter bina castra erat, agmine complevere. Cum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo, haud dubie aequiore loco,[6] successit tamen Poenus cum

[1] It might also have been *agrum*, but the plural is used in the same manner as in the case of two persons who have a common surname; for example, *P. et Gn. Scipiones.* We find the plural also with other common substantives; for example, xxiii. 33, *vitantes portus Brundisinum Tarentinumque.* The singular, however, in such cases is not only allowable, but of frequent occurrence.

[2] *Qui* is drawn to the fore-sentence alone, so that in the after-member we must supply *ejus* : 'and when he saw, and even, as an opportunity offered, killed, a few Numidians, his mind was immediately filled with thoughts (*occupatus*) of a battle.' Zumpt, § 804.

[3] 'After having advanced as far as he could with safety.'

[4] 'In every respect inferior in strength :' properly, *ex omni parte viribus impar*, for *omni parte virium* cannot mean here 'in every kind of troops,' since Mancinus had only cavalry.

[5] 'By a side or by-road connected with the *via Appia*,' for the *via* proper passed through the town of Tarracina itself.

[6] 'In a more favourable position.'

expeditis equitibusque.[1] Ad lacessendum hostem carptim Poeni et procursando recipiendoque sese pugnavere. Restitit suo loco Romana acies. Lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate. Ducenti ab Romanis,[2] octingenti hostium cecidere.

Inclusus inde videri Hannibal, via ad Casilinum obsessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitum sociorum[3] Romanis commeatus subveheret, Poenus tunc[4] inter Formiana saxa ac Literni arenas stagnaque perhorrida situ hibernaturus esset.[5] Nec Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti. Itaque cum per Casilinum evadere non posset petendique montes et jugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen aggrederetur, ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad frustrandum hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit. Faces undique ex agris collectae fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat. Ad duo milia ferme boum effecta; Hasdrubalique negotium datum ut primis tenebris noctis id armentum accensis cornibus ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

17. Primis tenebris silentio mota castra, boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes. Et metus ipse relucentis flammae ex capite calorque jam ad vivum[6] ad imaque cornuum adveniens velut stimulatos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu, haud secus quam silvis montibusque accensis, omnia circum virgulta ardere; capitumque irrita quassatio excitans flammam hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quos-

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[1] 'With the light-armed (foot) soldiers and the cavalry.' Drakenborch's reading is *cum expeditis equitibus atque ad lacessendum hostem carptim et procursando.* Ours rests on the authority of the best manuscripts, and we can see no reason why Hannibal in this kind of attack should not have made use of light-armed infantry.

[2] 'On the side of the Romans.' See Zumpt, § 304, *b.*

[3] 'So many rich allies.' Genitive partitive governed by *tantum.*

[4] The ordinary reading is *contra*, which is not supported by sufficient authority.

[5] Formiae and Liternum, Roman towns on the sea-coast, both no doubt fortified. The neighbourhood of Liternum is rendered very disagreeable by a marsh, through which the river Liternus flows.

[6] 'To the flesh.' In general, that part of the body which has sensation.

dam ignes[1] conspexerunt, circumventos se esse rati praesidio excessere; qua minime densae[2] micabant flammae, velut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium juga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos ab suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo cum procul cernerent, veluti flammas spirantium miraculo attoniti constiterunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, dum majore metu concitant se in fugam, levi quoque armaturae hostium incurrere. Ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientes ad lucem tenuit.[3] Interea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum,[4] et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis, in agro Allifano posuit castra.

18. Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius: ceterum et insidias esse ratus, et ab nocturno utique[5] abhorrens certamine, suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub jugo montis proelium fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam facile (etenim numero aliquantum praestabant) Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale pervenisset. Ea assuetior montibus, et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior cum velocitate corporum tum armorum habitu, campestrem hostem, gravem armis statariumque, pugnae genere facile elusit.[6] Ita haudquaquam pari

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[1] 'And some straight above them,' *quosdam* referring merely to those fires, or animals bearing fire, which appeared above the picket.

[2] 'Least thick.' We make this observation, because *minime* also has the signification 'by no means,' which is unsuitable here. In the same manner, when we speak of veterans, *qui minime multa stipendia habebant*, we mean those who, compared with the old soldiers around them, had served during the least number of campaigns.

[3] According to the sense, we must take the idea of *utrosque* out of *neutros*, and connect it with *tenuit*. Neither party would begin a battle, and therefore both remained quiet all night.

[4] The object of Hannibal's device was to frighten away the Roman soldiers who guarded the way over the mountain, and he attained his purpose by driving some of his fire-carrying oxen to hills situated higher, so that the guard, believing themselves surrounded, left the pass, and fell back on the main body of their army. Some modern writers have questioned the truth of the story regarding this device of Hannibal; but Polybius relates it as well as Livy, and there is no good ground for doubting it. A correct acquaintance with the locality will convince any unprejudiced person of the possibility of the stratagem.

[5] 'Indisposed to any kind of battle, and particularly one by night.'

[6] 'The Spanish cohort, by their mode of fighting, easily baffled the efforts of the enemy, who were accustomed to battles in the

certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.

Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque saltum super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Pelignos[1] populabundus rediit. Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam jugis ducebat, nec adsistens nec congrediens. Ex Pelignis Poenus flexit iter, retroque Apuliam repetens Geronium pervenit, urbem metu, quia collapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam. Dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non imperio modo sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio quam fortunae confidat, et se potius ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiumque imitetur. Ne nihil actum censeret[2] extracta prope aestate per ludificationem hostis. Medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque agendo proficere. Haud parvam rem esse ab totiens victore hoste vinci desisse ab[3] continuis cladibus ac respirasse. Haec nequicquam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est profectus.

19. Principio aestatis, qua haec gerebantur, in Hispania quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adjecit; quadraginta navium classem Himilconi tradidit; atque ita Carthagine profectus navibus prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus confligere quacunque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem consilii fuit;[4] deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam

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plain, and were heavy armed, and suited for fighting in regular line.'

[1] The Peligni. situated north-east of Samnium. on the slope from the interior of the country down to the Adriatic, had two large towns. Corfinium and Sulmo.

[2] 'He was not to think that nothing had been done (attained, effected).' The preceding sentence is an anacoluth, or rather is, properly speaking, not a sentence at all, for there is no main verb. The author forgot that he had employed nothing but participles, and now goes on with a statement of what the dictator said farther to his wilful master of the horse. As to *ne nihil* see Zumpt, § 754.

[3] 'After, immediately after.' See Zumpt, § 304, *a*. We have here restored what is decidedly the reading of the manuscripts, instead of the ordinary *et ab continuis cladibus respirasse.*

[4] *Scil. ei*, the subject, *Scipio*, being connected with the former part of the sentence. The reading *Scipioni* is not supported by the manuscripts.

novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves imposito,[1] quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero ab Tarracone die ad stationem decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Iberi amnis pervenit. Inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae rettulere classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis, castraque in ripa posita. Itaque ut improvidos incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo conspectis hostium navibus datum signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito, aut aperientibus classem promontoriis: cum repente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die expectantes, conscendere naves propere atque arma capere jubet: classem Romanam jam haud procul portu esse. Haec equites dimissi passim imperabant. Mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat; varioque omnia tumultu strepunt, ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque, fugientium magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant, cum alii resolutis oris in ancoras evehuntur,[2] alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt; raptimque omnia praepropere agendo, militum apparatu nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et jam Romanus non appropinquabat modo, sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati et temptata verius pugna quam inita, in fugam averterunt classem. Et cum adversi amnis os lato agmini ac tam multis simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset,[3] in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis alii sicco litore excepti,[4] partim armati partim inermes, ad instructam per

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[1] 'After he had put on board the soldiers chosen for the ships,' *ad naves* belonging grammatically to *delecto*.

[2] 'Some having untied the ropes which fastened the vessels (by the stern) to the shore, swing out to sea, and are held by their anchors only.'

[3] 'The mouth of the river, with the current running strongly against the ships (*adversi*), was not suited for the entrance of the whole fleet in one extended line.' The manuscripts have *agmini*, which is better than the common reading *agmine*.

[4] 'Some being received by shallow places, some by the dry beach,' that is, the men leaped out of the ships, some upon shallow places, some ashore.

litus aciem suorum perfugere. Duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naves, quattuor suppressae.

20. Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat armatamque aciem toto praetentam in litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem, naves omnes, quae non aut perfregerant proras litori illisas aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus[1] in altum extraxere; ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere.

Neque id pulcherrimum ejus victoriae fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto ejus orae mari potiti erant. Itaque ad Onusam classe provecti, escensione ab navibus in terram facta, cum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem[2] inde petunt; atque omnem agrum circa depopulati, postremo tecta quoque injuncta muro portisque[3] incenderunt. Inde jam praeda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti[4] ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod in satis usum fuit, sublato, ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo projectas oras,[5] sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum. Ubi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum nequicquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem irritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi, direptis aliquot incensisque vicis, majore quam ex continenti praeda parta cum in naves se recepissent, ex Balearibus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis, reditumque in citeriora provinciae, quo omnium populorum qui Iberum accolunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt. Sed qui vere dicionis imperiique Romani facti sint[6] obsidibus

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[1] 'Having fastened them to the sterns of their own vessels.'

[2] That is, *Carthaginem Novam.* We learn from this description something regarding the situation of the other towns, which are otherwise unknown; for it is evident that Onusa was between the Ebro and New Carthage, and Longuntica on the coast between New Carthage and Cadiz.

[3] 'Adjoining the wall and the gates'—perhaps outside, however.

[4] *Spartum*, a kind of rush peculiar to Spain, called by Linnæus *stipa tenacissima.* Its thread-like leaves are used in the same way as hemp, for making mats and cords; and the indestructibility of these, particularly their remaining uninjured by wet, is famed.

[5] The reading in most of the editions is *oras praetervecta;* but the latter word is wanting in the manuscripts, and it is better, therefore, to take a sense out of the verb *transmissum*, belonging to the other clause, which will suit this: 'they not only landed on projecting points of the mainland (promontories of some extent), but even crossed over to the island of Ebusus.' This island, the largest of the group of the *Pityusae*, is situated opposite the coast of the Spanish province of Valencia, and is now called Iviça.

[6] The subjunctive, according to *Gram.* § 360, 3; for we must con-

datis, populi amplius fuerunt centum viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem[1] est progressus. Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

21. Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum aestatis tempus, fuissetque per[2] Poenum hostem. Sed praeterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res[3] sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui antea Ilergetum[4] regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Adversus eos tribunus militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi[5] levi certamine, ut tumultuariam manum, fudere omnes; occisis quibusdam captisque magna pars armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Iberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilercaonensium,[6] castra Romana ad Novam Classem erant, cum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suae legatos miserant obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuncio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt provinciamque Carthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt, tria oppida vi expugnant. Inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliis egregie pugnant: quindecim milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

22. Hoc statu rerum in Hispania, P. Scipio in provinciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu, missus cum viginti longis navibus et octo milibus militum, magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul visa[7] cum magna laetitia civium socio-

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ceive the sense to be, 'the tribes who acted in such a manner that they became,' &c.

[1] This is the range out of which the Baetis (now Gaudalquivir) springs, and Castulo is the modern Cazorla.

[2] *Per* here (like 'for' in conversational English; for example, 'you may do it for me') means, 'so far as concerned.'

[3] *In novas res = novarum rerum:* similar deviations from the strict grammatical construction of *avidus* occur also in v. 20, *avidas in direptiones manus otiosorum urbanorum*, and vii. 23, *gens ferox et ingenii avidi ad pugnam.*

[4] See xxi. 22, p. 209, note 6.

[5] A somewhat odd construction; but *auxilia* is=*auxiliares*, and as to the plural, see *Gram.* § 244, 3.

[6] The Ilercaones, Ilergaones, or Ilercaonenses, dwelt west of the Ilergetes, on both sides of the Iberus, down the river. Nova Classis, an unknown place on the coast.

[7] 'Having appeared in the distance, from the train of vessels of burden, to be very large.'

rumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri se conjungit; ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello haud cunctanter Iberum transgrediuntur, nec ullo[1] viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos[2] ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custodiri praesidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollerti magis quam fideli consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis: tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem. Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei proditione venientem ad hostes nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat ut quam maximum emolumentum[3] novis sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur omnibus quae fortuna potestatis ejus poterat facere,[4] obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adjecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniae amicitiam. Sed cum injussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte aggreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ex portu[5] intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum, velut ignorantem, monet quo statu sit res. Metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent: nunc cis Iberum

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[1] Equivalent to *et nullo*. Such a use of *nec* is, strictly speaking, illogical; for the conjunction should belong, in its full negative sense, to the verb of the clause, which is not the case here. But see Zumpt, § 738.

[2] 'Who had been handed over by Hannibal (the previous year) to his successor Hasdrubal.' The reading *custodiae traditos*, which does away with the necessity of supplying 'to Hasdrubal,' is not supported by manuscripts.

[3] It might have been the dative *maximo emolumento*.

[4] 'Having considered all things which circumstances could put in his power,' or 'over which circumstances could give him power,' or 'which circumstances could put at his command.' The construction *potestatis alicujus aliquid facere*, is founded on the possessive genitive with *esse* and *fieri; Gram.* § 278, for the active *facere* is used with such a genitive as well as the passive *fieri;* for example, *Asia Romanorum facta est*, and *bellum Asiam Romanorum fecit*.

[5] Saguntum, as was before observed (on xxi. 2), was situated not far from the sea, and had, like all great cities, a port belonging to it. Bostar, from the superiority of the Roman fleet, anticipated an attack on the sea-side.

castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res. Itaque quos metus non teneat, beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse. Miranti Bostari percunctantique quodnam id subitum tantae rei donum posset esse, 'Obsides' inquit 'in civitates remitte. Id et privatim parentibus, quorum maximum nomen in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit. Vult sibi quisque credi, et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adjuvem meum, et rei suapte natura gratae, quantam insuper gratiam possim, adjiciam.' Homini non ad[1] cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis, et ab iis ad Scipionem perductus, quid afferret expromit. Fide accepta dataque, ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos. Saguntum redit; diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis.[2] Dimissus, cum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in praeparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti. Cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordine quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur.[3] Major aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat.[4] Illos enim graves superbosque in rebus secundis expertos fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat: Romanus primo adventu, incognitus ante, ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat. Et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra[5] videbatur socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare;[6] armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems, quae

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[1] 'In comparison with.' See Zumpt, § 296, *prope fin.*

[2] 'In receiving directions from him for carrying out the affair;' namely, what he was to do in the different cities in order to confirm their connection with Carthage.

[3] The same statement, expressed actively, stands thus: *cetera omnia idem Abelux egit eo ordine, quo (ageretur), si sic Carthaginiensium nomine ageretur.* The expression *agere per ordinem aliquem* is not used in Latin: it follows, therefore, that the common reading here, *per eundem ordinem*, is incorrect. The treachery of Abelux consisted in his so contriving, that the advantage derived from giving back the hostages accrued to the Romans instead of the Carthaginians.

[4] *Futura—fuerat=fuisset.* See Zumpt, § 498, middle.

[5] 'Not without good grounds.'

[6] 'Thought of revolt.'

Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

23. Haec in Hispania quoque secunda aestate Punici belli gesta, cum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabii fecisset; quae ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat,[1] tandem eum militiae magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortuna gereret, ita contempta erat inter cives armatos pariter togatosque, utique postquam absente eo temeritate magistri equitum, laeto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu,[2] pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant duae res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris, una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod cum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo aequatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hostium abstineri jussit, ut occulti alicujus pacti ea merces videri posset;[3] altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non expectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem verso, in permutandis captivis, quod sicut primo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum Poenumque, ut quae pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem praestaret.[4] Ducentos quadraginta septem cum plures Romanus quam Poenus recepisset, argentumque pro eis debitum, saepe jactata in senatu re, quoniam non consuluisset Patres, tardius erogaretur,[5] inviolatum ab hoste agrum misso Romam Quinto filio vendidit, fidemque publicam impendio privato exsolvit.[6]

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[1] 'The slackness of Fabius *held* or *kept* Hannibal filled (troubled) with no little anxiety.' It might also have been *tenebat*.

[2] 'With a result which I might, with greater justice, call joyful than prosperous' or 'advantageous.' *Laetus* refers to what has actually been done, *prosper* to the good which may be expected to follow.

[3] 'That this might appear the reward.'

[4] The arrangement was, that there was to be an exchange of prisoners, and that for each of the men whom the one party obtained back more than the other, two pounds and a-half of silver were to be paid. As the Roman pound, which was about two-thirds of the Paris pound, contained 84 denarii, the ransom for each man amounted to 210 denarii, or, 25 denarii making an *aureus*, to $8\frac{2}{5}$ gold pieces. See as to the Roman coins Zumpt, § 872.

[5] 'As the money due for them was rather slowly voted by the senate,' or better, in English, 'as the senate was rather slow in voting the money.' All payments from the *aerarium* had previously to be approved of by the senate; and to pass a bill granting a sum is *erogare*.

[6] 'At his own expense he paid the debt contracted in the name of the senate.'

Hannibal pro Geronii moenibus, cujus urbis captae atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat, simul castris praesidio, et circumspectans necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

24. Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat. Praeerat Minucius magister equitum, profecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quae in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, jam in planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relicta cum levi praesidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem, et ferocius quam consultius[1] rem hostes gesturos. Ipse autem, quod minime quis crederet, cum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum, duabus in castris retentis, dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius hostem[2] movit, duo ferme a Geronio milia, in tumulum hosti conspectum, ut intentum sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur, quia haud dubie hostis breviore via praeventurus erat, nocte clam missi Numidae ceperunt. Quos tenentes locum contempta paucitate Romani postero die cum dejecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. Tum itaque, ut exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat,[3] et id ipsum totum prope compleverat Romana acies, simul et per aversa castra[4] a castris Hannibalis equitatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late caedem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat. Jamque artibus Fabii (pars exercitus aberat), jam ferme sedendo et cunctando bellum gerebat, receperatque suos in priora castra,[5] quae pro Geronii

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[1] 'With more impetuosity than reflection.' *Gram.* § 89, note.

[2] See *Gram.* § 255. note 2. Hannibal meant by this movement to deter the Romans from making any attack upon his foragers.

[3] 'As the rampart of the one camp was but a little way distant from that of the other:' *exiguum spatii* = *exiguum spatium*, according to *Gram.* § 275, *c*, note 3.

[4] *Per aversa castra*—that is, *per aversam partem castrorum* — 'by that side of the camp which was turned away from Hannibal's camp.' *Per* is used because properly *per portam aversam* is meant.

[5] 'He was now obliged to carry on the war in the same fashion as Fabius, and he had taken back his troops into the old camp.' This, then, was what Minucius had gained by his bold proceeding; he forced Hannibal to act on the defensive.

moenibus erant. Justa quoque acie et collatis signis[1] dimicatum quidam auctores sunt. Primo concursu Poenum usque ad castra fusum, inde eruptione facta repente versum terrorem in Romanos; Num. Decimii Samnitis deinde interventu proelium restitutum. Hunc principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio,[2] jussu dictatoris octo milia peditum et equites quingentos[3] ducentem in castra, ab tergo cum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique praebuisse novi praesidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis. Hannibalem insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem recepisse suos; Romanum insecutum adjuvante Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex milia hostium caesa, quinque admodum[4] Romanorum. Tamen in tam pari prope clade famam egregiae victoriae cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

25. De his rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione actum est. Cum laeta civitate dictator unus nihil nec famae nec litteris crederet; ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam adversa timere diceret; tum M. Metilius tribunus plebis id enim[5] ferendum esse negat. Non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendae, sed absentem etiam gestae obstare;[6] et in ducendo bello sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque et Romae et in exercitu imperium habeat. Quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie classis Punicae persequendae procul ab Italia ablegatum.[7] Duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quarum neutra hoc tempore provincia praetore egeat. M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, prope in custodiam[8] habitum. Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo jam tamquam trans

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[1] An expression equivalent to 'in full line of battle;' for the *signa* were carried in the main body of the army, not in the advanced guard, or among the light skirmishers.

[2] 'In all Samnium.' See *Gram.* § 307, 2.

[3] These were *socii Italici*, called out as auxiliaries.

[4] To *quinque* can very easily and naturally be supplied *milia*. *Admodum*, 'about,' = *circiter*.

[5] 'Says that this is *really* not to be borne.' *Enim* is used here, as elsewhere, *enimvero*, to strengthen an assertion. This sense originated in an ellipsis; as, for instance, here—'M. Metilius said that he meant to speak against the dictator, and that he had justice on his side; for,' &c.

[6] By depreciating the value of the victory.

[7] The sending away of the consul has been mentioned in chapter 11, and his unsuccessful descent upon the coast of Africa is described in chapter 31.

[8] Properly *in custodia*; but see *Gram.* § 310, note.

liberum agro Poenis concessum sit, et Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum[1] pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum retentos; tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta. Tandem ut[2] abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebi Romanae esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabii imperio: nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris jure.[3] Nec tamen ne ita quidem[4] prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flaminii suffecisset. Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime popularis.[5] Ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus audiebatur tunc cum hostem verbis extolleret,[6] bienniique clades per temeritatem atque inscientiam ducum acceptas referret, magistroque equitum, quod contra dictum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consiliique sit, propediem effecturum ut sciant homines bono imperatore[7]

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[1] So the manuscripts read; the editions *agros*. See chap. 15, note. It appears from this sentence that Hannibal's trick, mentioned in chap. 23, took effect, and made Fabius suspected of selfishness by those ill-disposed towards him.

[2] This *ut* is = *ubi, postquam, simulatque*; *ut* in the next clause is = *tamquam*.

[3] They were thus to have equal command — to be colleagues; whereas the master of the horse, according to the constitution, was quite subordinate to the dictator.

[4] *Ne ita quidem*, equal, from the peculiar nature of the sentence, to *vel sic*, 'even on these conditions.' The negation *nec* renders the whole sentence negative, and the *ne ita quidem* is introduced somewhat parenthetically: 'Q. Fabius must not be sent back; no, not even on these conditions, until,' &c. As to this use of two negatives without their being, according to the rule, equal to an affirmative, see Zumpt, § 754, note.

[5] 'Being by no means popular in public speaking (as a public speaker).' *Agere cum populo* means 'to treat with the people,' which is done by speaking in the assembly: *actio* takes the corresponding sense as a noun. Fabius was an aristocrat, the head of a party in the senate; prudent and reserved in business, but not possessed of that rhetorical talent which conferred influence in the popular assembly.

[6] Livy might have said *extollebat*, but the subjunctive implies repeated action.

[7] 'With a good general,' that is, when the general is good; the ablative absolute. See *Gram.* § 405, note 2. The editions have *imperatori*, but it is evidently better for Fabius to make a general statement than to speak of himself personally as a *bonus imperator*.

haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari. Et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum, quam multa milia hostium occidisse, majorem gloriam esse. Hujus generis orationibus frustra habitis, et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne praesens de jure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendae dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce orta cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favorque magistri equitum animos versabat, quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum quod vulgo placebat prodire; et favore superante auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat.[1] Unus inventus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno praetor fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis,[2] filioque hoc ipso in servilia ejus artis ministeria usum.

26. Is juvenis, ut primum ex eo genere questus pecunia a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae fecit, togaque[3] et forum placuere, proclamando[4] pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit· quaestura quoque et duabus aedilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et praetura perfunctus, jam ad consulatus spem cum attolleret animos, haud parum[5] callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria invidia petiit, scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit. Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in exercitu erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum

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For the same reason we have in the following sentence rejected the reading *se et in tempore*, preferring that without *se*, which is, besides, supported by stronger manuscript authority. Fabius says generally, that it is a more glorious thing to have preserved an army at the right time than to have slain many thousand enemies. This of course could not fail of being applied to himself. As to *in tempore*, see *Gram.* § 308, note 1.

[1] 'Though there was favour (for Minucius) enough and to spare, yet the bill had but little *auctoritas* (that is, recommendation, support in the way of speaking). *Superare* intransitively = *superesse* The *auctor* of a law is one who speaks in support of it = *suasor*.

[2] 'Who himself (namely, the father) kept the stall;' for this is *institor*, 'a shopkeeper.'

[3] 'The state-robe,' indicating one in public life; for mechanics and persons who attended merely to their own private affairs wore only the *tunica*.

[4] Equivalent to *dicendo*, but implying at the same time a roaring, blustering style of oratory.

[5] 'Not too little cunningly (that is, *satis callide*, cunningly enough) he tried to catch the breeze of popular favour.' The wind fills the sails, and carries the ship into port. With this idea the Latin speaks figuratively of an *aura*, which furthers any one's wishes.

dictatorem, in contumeliam ejus latam acceperunt. Ipse qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se saevientis injuriam tulit; acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatus consulti[1] de aequato imperio, satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi aequatam, cum[2] invicto a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

27. Minucius vero cum jam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset secundis rebus ac favore vulgi, tum utique immodice immodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriari. Illum in rebus asperis unicum[3] ducem ac parem quaesitum Hannibali, majorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, jussu populi aequatum, in eadem civitate, in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint:[4] tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enituisse. Ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie deorum hominumque judicio damnata perstaret. Itaque quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse, quemadmodum imperio aequato utantur. Se optimum ducere aut diebus alternis, aut si majora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum jus imperiumque esse, ut par hosti non solum consilio sed viribus etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendae habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia enim fortunam habituram, quaecunque temeritas collegae habuisset.[5] Sibi communicatum cum illo, non

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[1] *Litterae senatus consulti*, 'a copy of the *senatus consultum;*' for the resolution of the people (*plebiscitum*) had been accepted by the senate, and was now communicated to the dictator in the form of a decree.

[2] *Cum* might very well have been omitted here. See Zumpt, § 472.

[3] See chapter 14, note.

[4] 'Used to tremble and shake before the symbols of the dictator's power,' says Minucius boastingly, having in his mind the only other instance in Roman history in which a master of the horse disobeyed the direct commands of his superior. This was when Q. Fabius, afterwards called Maximus, master of the horse to L. Papirius Cursor, fought a battle in the dictator's absence, and contrary to his orders. Papirius, enraged, was resolved to punish Fabius, and was induced to pardon him only by the united petitions of the senate and people. See Liv. viii. 30, *seq.* These events happened in the year 325 B.C., during the Samnite wars. As to *tremere* and *horrere* with the accusative, see *Gram.* § 249, note 1.

[5] *Habere*, 'to have in possession,' therefore also 'to have the settlement or disposal of a thing in one's hands:' 'fortune (chance)

ademptum imperium esse. Itaque se nunquam volentem parte qua posset rerum consilio gerendarum cessurum;[1] nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitum[2] divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quae posset servaturum. Ita obtinuit ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset,[3] inter se dividerent. Prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt; item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia diviserunt. Castris se quoque separari magister equitum voluit.

28. Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit (neque enim quicquam eorum quae apud hostes agerentur[4] eum fallebat, et perfugis multa indicantibus, et per suos explorantem). Nam et liberam Minucii temeritatem se suo modo capturum,[5] et sollertiae Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minucii et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturus.[6] Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem semper occursurum ad obsistendum satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quicquam sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat; re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat. Et erant in anfractibus cavae rupes,[7] ut quaedam earum ducenos armatos possent

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would have the disposal of everything, which his rash colleague had the possession of.'

[1] 'That he would never agree to give up that part, with which he could carry on the war by deliberation and planning.' As to the construction of *cedere*, see Zumpt, § 413, *sub fin.*

[2] That is, *sed exercitum*, with the omission of the adversative particle (see Zumpt, § 781), which must be expressed in reading by the accent. The singular *exercitum* is supported by better manuscript authority than *exercitus*, the reading in the ordinary editions.

[3] The subjunctive represents this as a statement of Fabius, appealing to the example of consuls when they were both in command of the same army.

[4] Why not *agebantur?* Because Hannibal was acquainted not merely with what actually was done, but also with what might be done, what it was likely would be undertaken. See *Gram.* § 360, 3.

[5] The accusative with the infinitive dependent on an omitted verb of thinking; 'for he thought he would in his usual way entrap the now unfettered rashness of Minucius.'

[6] 'And whoever should have taken possession of it first, would undoubtedly place the other party in a less favourable position.

[7] 'In the windings (of the valley, on the sides of the hill) there were many caves in the rocks.' *Cavae rupes:* literally, 'hollow rocks'—that is, fissures, deep rents in the rocks, produced probably by the operation of water.

capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque milia conduntur peditum equitumque.[1] Necubi tamen aut motus alicujus temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas, ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes ac locum capiendum. Dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat, et vanis minis increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam, deinde conferto agmine mittit equites; postremo cum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia crescente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque jam justam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus certabatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum, praeoccupatum inferiore loco succedens tumulum,[2] pulsa detrusaque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter perculsos impavida sola erat, videbaturque, si justa aut si recta pugna[3] esset, haudquaquam impar futura: tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta. Sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque in latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.

29. Tum Fabius primo clamore paventium audito, dein conspecta procul turbata acie, 'Ita est' inquit: 'non celerius[4] quam timui deprehendit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio aequatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt.[5] Sed aliud jurgandi succensendique tempus erit: nunc signa extra vallum proferte. Victoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus.' Jam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam, Fabiana se acies repente velut coelo demissa ad auxilium ostendit. Itaque priusquam ad conjectum teli veniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et a nimis feroci pugna

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[1] These clefts were taken possession of in the night.

[2] 'Advancing up the hill.' As to the construction of *succedere* and similar verbs, see *Gram.* § 250, with note 1. We may say either *succedere tumulum*, *ad tumulum*, or *tumulo*.

[3] 'Battle in front,' referring to the attack in the rear and on the flanks described immediately afterwards.

[4] 'As quickly as I expected (dreaded).' The Latins are fond of the expression with *non magis quam*.

[5] That is, so far as command goes, he (Minucius) has been made equal to me; but as to military skill, he himself must now acknowledge Hannibal's superiority.

hostes continuit. Qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem volventesque orbem[1] nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare. Ac jam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, inferebantque signa in hostem: cum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale[2] ab se Minucium, se a Fabio victum.

Ita per variam fortunam diei majore parte exacta cum in castra reditum esset, Minucius convocatis militibus 'Saepe ego' inquit 'audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit,[3] secundum eum qui bene monenti obediat: qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, secundam ac mediam teneamus; et dum imperare discimus,[4] parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio jungamus: ad praetorium ejus signa cum tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellavero, quod beneficio ejus erga nos ac majestate ejus dignum est, vos, milites, eos quorum vos modo arma dexterae[5] texerunt patronos salutabitis; et si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit.'

30. Signo dato, conclamatur inde ut colligantur vasa.[6] Profecti et agmine incedentes dictatoris castra[7] in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant converterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, cum patrem Fabium appellasset, circum-

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[1] 'Forming a circle.' Compare xxi. 56, *in orbem pugnare.*

[2] An ablative absolute should only be used when a new subject appears: but Hannibal is the same as the *Poenus.* Only in sense, however, not in sound; and besides *Poenus receptui cecinit* is, in fact, nothing else than 'on the side of the Carthaginians the signal was given for retreat.'

[3] 'Who himself discovers what is useful.'

[4] 'So long as we are only learning how to command;' that is, 'until we learn the art of commanding.' We must confess that this noble self-denial of Minucius more than balances his former presumption. Polybius says nothing of it, merely stating that Minucius now joined his army to that of Fabius; but Livy has a particular liking for exhibiting the moral character of his heroes by delineating such traits as this.

[5] The ordinary reading is *dexteraeque*, contrary to the manuscripts. The asyndeton is here allowable, indeed preferable, because it gives a rhetorical finish to the sentence.

[6] See xxi. 47. p. 244, note 4.

[7] 'Entering the dictator's camp in line;' that is, *non dispersi sed uno agmine. Incedere* with the accusative, as a little before, *succedere tumulum.*

fusosque militum ejus totum agmen patronos consalutasset, 'Parentibus' inquit 'meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quo fando possum,[1] aequavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi cum meam salutem tum omnium horum. Itaque plebei scitum, quo oneratus magis quam honoratus[2] sum, primus antiquo abrogoque;[3] et quod tibi mihique, quod exercitibusque[4] his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo, et signa haec legionesque restituo. Tu, quaeso, placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos[5] quemque tenere jubeas.' Tum dextrae interjunctae, militesque contione dimissi ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati, laetusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope execrabili factus. Romae, ut est perlata fama rei gestae, dein litteris, non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu, affirmata, pro se quisque Maximum[6] laudibus ad coelum ferre. Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Poenos erat; ac tum demum sentire cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse. Nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cujus terribilem eam[7] famam a patribus accepissent. Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in jugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

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[1] That is, *quo nomine te illis aequare fando possum*, 'by which I can equal you to them in speaking.'

[2] A good pun, the use of the similarly-sounding words *oneratus* and *honoratus*, to express widely-different ideas. See Zumpt, § 822, on παρονομασία.

[3] Two public formulae of throwing out a bill, *antiquo* being used when a new law was proposed, and meaning 'I stand by the old way;' and *abrogo* being 'I support the repeal of an existing law.'

[4] *Que* here is oddly enough attached to the second word. The reason, however, is evident, *quod* having no force of its own, so far as sense is concerned, in this place, but merely adding a little rhetorical effect.

[5] This refers particularly to the centurions of the three divisions—*hastati, principes*, and *triarii*. The appointment of these was entirely in the hands of the commander-in-chief; and there can be no doubt that Minucius, in assuming his separate command, had made several promotions, for the ratification of which he now petitioned his re-acknowledged superior.

[6] Livy's preference here of the dictator's family name (cognomen) to his praenomen or gentile name (nomen) is not accidental; for the people, in praising him, would naturally make use of this name, saying, 'he is indeed the greatest, and worthy of his name.'

[7] *Eam* or *illam* points to something well known. See Zumpt, § 701. We should say, 'whose fame they had heard of as *so* terrible.'

31. Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul[1] cum classe centum viginti navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram, et obsidibus utrimque acceptis, in Africam transmisit; et priusquam in continentem escensiones faceret, Meninge insula vastata, et ab incolentibus Cercinam[2] ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis, ad litora Africae accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites, navalesque socii juxta effusi ac si[3] insulis cultorum egentibus praedarentur. Itaque in insidias temere illati, cum a frequentibus palantes et ignari ab locorum gnaris circumvenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda fuga retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad[4] mille hominum, cum his Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amisso, classis a litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, traditaque[5] Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetori, ut ab legato ejus P. Sura Romam reduceretur, ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam trajecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et ipse et collega ejus M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto jam prope semestri imperio[6] acciperent.

Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Coelius[7] etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit. Sed et Coelium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, jus fuisse dicendi dictatoris; quam moram quia expectare territa jam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum esse, ut a populo crearetur qui pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titu-

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[1] This narrative follows up the information formerly given us, in chapter 11, of the consul's having been sent away to pursue a Carthaginian fleet which was cruising on the Italian coast.—*Utrimque*, commonly 'on both sides,' here, unusually, for *ab utraque insula*.

[2] Meninx and Cercina, two not unimportant islands. The former, abounding in lotus, and hence sometimes called the 'island of the lotus-eaters,' was situated near the African coast, not far from the promontory on the *Syrtis Minor*. Cercina, situated further out at sea, was a place of some consequence as a naval and trading station.

[3] *Juxta ac si*=*aeque ac si* or *quasi*, 'just as if.' *Insulis*, the simple ablative of place 'where.' This is a common construction in Livy, elsewhere *in insulis* would be more usual.

[4] *Ad* is used adverbially, 'about a thousand men,'=*fere, prope.* Supply *amissis* (=*occisis*) out of *amisso*, which is joined to the last name.

[5] *Scil. ea.* an ablative absolute.

[6] The office of dictator could be held only for six months at longest.

[7] See xxi. 38, p. 232, note 3.

lum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore, dictator crederetur, facile obtinuisse.[1]

32. Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis (medium[2] autumni erat) Fabii artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni[3] aderant, carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes. In casum universae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non veniebant. Adeoque inopiae est coactus Hannibal,[4] ut nisi tum fugae speciem abeundo timuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit,[5] nulla relicta spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

Cum ad Geronium jam hieme impediente constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere. Ab iis quadraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam illatae, atque ita verba facta ut dicerent, scire sese populi aerarium bello exhauriri; et cum juxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae, urbe Romana atque imperio geratur, aequum censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunae[6] a majoribus relictum foret, eo juvare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese crederent,[7] eodem studio fuisse oblaturos. Gratum sibi Patres Romanos populumque facturum, si

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[1] 'That thereupon his exploits, and his glory, and the fact of his descendants putting a higher title on his statue, had easily brought it about that,' &c. *Qui pro dictatore*, a rare ellipsis of *esset*. Compare Zumpt, § 776.

[2] The modern editions read *extremum*, which is conjectural, the manuscripts having *tum*. *Medium* is nearer *tum*, and is, besides, supported by *mature*, for the end of autumn was the regular time for preparing winter-quarters, and therefore could not be considered as 'early.'

[3] 'At the right time.' The adjective according to Zumpt, § 682.

[4] 'Hannibal was brought (straightened) to that degree of famine.' This is the manuscript reading; *eo—redactus* is a conjecture. *Adeo* can govern the genitive as well as *eo*. *Gram.* § 275, *c*, note 5.

[5] Not *fuisset*, because the untruth of the matter is already seen in the connection of the future participle with the perfect subjunctive of *esse*. See Zumpt, § 498, *sub fin.*

[6] 'For support in (adverse or mis-) fortune.' For *fortuna* is a *verbum medium*, and may be used either of good or bad fortune.

[7] 'If they thought that in themselves (in their persons, bodies) they had any power of assisting the Romans.' Neapolis was a *civitas foederata*, and did not contribute a cohort to the Roman army; and the inhabitants (Greeks) here excuse themselves on the ground of physical inability. *In sese*, therefore, is emphatic for *in semet ipsis*.

omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque judicaverint[1] ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate eorum qui libentes darent quam re majus ampliusque, acciperent. Legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera quae ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.[2]

33. Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per biennium fefellerat,[3] Romae deprehensus praecisisque manibus dimissus; et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio conjurassent. Indici data libertas et aeris gravis viginti milia.[4] Legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium Pharium,[5] qui bello victus ad eum fugisset; et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum, quod Poenum opibus auxiliisque suis juvissent, simul ad visendum ex propinquo quae in Boiis atque Insubribus gererentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium,[6] cujus dies exierat, poscendum, aut si diem proferre vellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquae[7] quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit aedem Concordiae, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor[8] in Gallia

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[1] The perfect subjunctive connected with the pluperfect in this way is extraordinary. The only attempt at explanation we can give is, that *duxissent* may be a supposition referring to time past, present, and future, whereas *judicaverint* refers specially to the act just completed, or about to be completed: 'if now the senate shall have judged.'

[2] The senate, therefore, declined to receive the money, but took a small thing as a token of their gratitude for the good-will of the Neapolitans. This course was most consistent with Roman dignity, and was, besides, particularly proper on this occasion, because the gold offered consisted of temple ornaments. Had troops been offered, they would no doubt have been accepted, and still greater gratitude felt.

[3] 'Had remained undiscovered:' intransitive.

[4] 'Heavy ases;' that is, ases ten of which made a denarius: there were sixteen light ases in a denarius. See Zumpt, § 872.

[5] Guardian of Pineus, who was afterwards made king of Illyricum. Demetrius was a native of Pharos, an Illyrian island, and had been conquered by the Romans in the year 219 B.C.

[6] See xxi. 1, p. 181, note 5.

[7] The ordinary reading is *longinqua;* we follow the more correct one of a good manuscript.

[8] He was praetor in the year 218; and as we are now in the end of 217, it may justly be said that the fulfilment of the vow had been put off for two years. Through such vows, made during dangerous emergencies (for *per* here is 'during'), the city of Rome was filled with a great number of temples, most of them small, some mere chapels; and in particular there were very many to Concordia.

vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbis, Cn. Pupius et K. Quinctius Flamininus, aedem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad consules missae, ut si iis videretur,[1] alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret: se in eam diem quam[2] jussissent comitia edicturum. Ad haec a consulibus rescriptum sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste: itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius, quam consul alter a bello avocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo[3] M'. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. His vitio creatis jussisque die quartodecimo se magistratu abdicare, res ad interregnum rediit.

34. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a Patribus C. Claudius Ap. filius Centho, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In ejus interregno comitia habita magno certamine Patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebei insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabii opibus et dictatorio imperio concussis[4] aliena invidia splendentem, vulgus et[5] extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, Patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi aequari assuescerent homines.[6] Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terentii, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat. Ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum quaerentibus,

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[1] This was not merely a polite formula; for the senate was but the highest deliberative and advice-giving assembly in the state, and, as such, could simply issue a recommendation to the consul. Such recommendations, however, were always attended to, at least by consuls who wished to keep up a good understanding with the senate, and were not prevented by circumstances from complying with its desire.

[2] That is, *in quam comitia fore jussissent*. The *in* is left out, because used before the preceding *eam*. See Zumpt, § 778, middle.

[3] He had been consul in the year 220 B.C.

[4] *Ab—concussis*, 'since the shaking.'

[5] *Et* is = *etiam*, as often in Livy. This word properly belongs to *consulatum*, but *extrahere ad consulatum* is looked upon as forming but one idea. The construction of the whole sentence is this: *Varroni, quem—vulgus et ad consulatum extrahere nitebatur, Patres—obstabant.*

[6] 'That men might not be accustomed to be put on a level with them, simply by assailing them.' *Se* and *sibi* refer to the main subject *Patres*.

Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem, cum debellari possit, fraude id bellum trahi. Cum quattuor militum legionibus universis[1] pugnari posse apparuisse eo, quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset; duas legiones hosti ad caedem objectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam vinci.[2] Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id foedus inter omnes nobiles ictum; nec finem ante belli habituros, quam consulem vere plebeium, id est hominem novum,[3] fecissent. Nam plebeios nobiles jam eisdem initiatos esse sacris, et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni Patribus[4] desierint, coepisse. Cui non id[5] apparere id actum et quaesitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in Patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisse; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse, ut vitiosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere igitur interregnum eos. Consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae esse: populum liberum habiturum, ac daturum ei, qui magis vere vincere quam diu imperare malit.[6]

35. Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Manlio Vulsone, M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilibus jam familiarum plebei,[7] C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum alter pontifex alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in

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[1] 'With four legions, if kept together.' This is a hit at Fabius's dividing the army. *Militum* is superfluous.

[2] The slanderous tribune attributes the whole of Fabius's conduct, even the noblest parts of it, to selfishness. His reasoning is very unsound.

[3] A *homo novus* was one who had no *imagines* in his family; that is, none of whose ancestors had borne a curule office. Families which had *imagines* were *nobiles*, whether they were of patrician or plebeian descent. For there were by this time a good many noble plebeian families; as, for instance, the Livii, Sempronii Longi, Atilii, Fulvii, Junii, and others.

[4] That is, *a Patribus*, the dative of the agent. See *Gram.* § 271. This is the reading of the best manuscripts. *Patres* here are 'patricians,' which signification of the word came down from that time when none but patricians could be members of the senate.

[5] *Id* is superfluous: Zumpt, § 748. No one need stumble at the occurrence of the same word immediately afterwards, for *id agere ut* resolves itself into 'to intend,' 'purpose.'

[6] *Magis—malit;* Zumpt, § 747.

[7] 'Two already noble belonging to families of the plebs (plebeian families).'

manu ejus essent comitia rogando collegae.[1] Tum experta nobilitas parum fuisse virium in competitoribus ejus, L. Aemilium Paullum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat[2] et damnatione collegae et sua prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compellit. Is proximo comitiali die, concedentibus omnibus, qui cum Varrone certaverant, par magis in adversandum[3] quam collega datur consuli. Inde praetoria comitia habita. Creati M'. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus. Philo Romae juri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter cives Romanos et peregrinos evenit. Additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt; nec cuiquam eorum, praeter Terentium consulem, mandatus honos, quem jam non antea gessisset, praeteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nullis novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

36. Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt: quantae autem copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quicquam satis certum affirmare ausim. Decem milia novorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas, milibus[4] peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adjectis, ut quina milia peditum, treceni equites essent; socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, pedites[5] aequarent. Septem et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis, cum pugnatum ad Cannas est, quidam[6] auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam

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[1] None of the other candidates received the absolute majority of votes—that is, 97; there being 193 centuries. Consequently at this first election Varro alone was chosen. He immediately entered on his office, and held the comitia for the election of a colleague. This latter was quite a proper proceeding, because the new consular year (216 B.C.) had already begun, and the consuls of the preceding year had therefore become merely proconsuls.

[2] In the year 219 B.C., when both the consuls were engaged in the Illyrian war (see chap. 33, p. 308, note 5). They were afterwards accused of fraud in the division of the booty. Livius was condemned, and Aemilius Paullus with great difficulty obtained an acquittal. He came off *ambustus* or *semiustus*, 'scorched,' 'half-burnt.'

[3] 'More as an equal to oppose him.'

[4] For the distributive *milleni*, which is not in use. *Gram.* § 106, note 1.

[5] *Scil. Romanos.*

[6] These *quidam* are the same as the second *alii* mentioned in the preceding sentence; and the allusion is to the Greek historian Polybius in particular. The whole number given here will be found exactly correct by a comparison with the details in the pre-

discrepat, majore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem, posse vinci hostem, dictator praebuerat.

Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere jussi propter territos vulgo homines novis prodigiis. Nam et Romae in Aventino et Ariciae nunciatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse;[1] et multo cruore signa in Sabinis, Caere[2] aquas e fonte calidas manasse. Id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis terrebat: et in via Fornicata,[3] quae ad Campum erat, aliquot homines de coelo tacti exanimatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Paesto pateras aureas Romam attulerunt; iis, sicut Neapolitanis, gratiae actae, aurum non acceptum.

37. Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostiam cum magno commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nunciarunt caedem C. Flaminii consulis exercitusque allatam adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque quamquam probe sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se[4] omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella juvari soleant, misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant, magnopere se Patres conscriptos orare. Jam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum[5] viginti afferre sese: acciperent eam, tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta milia modium tritici,

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ceding sentence: 40,000 Roman infantry, and as many of the allies; 2400 Roman cavalry, and 4800 of the allies; total, 87,200.

[1] See xxi. 62, p. 263, note 2.

[2] The manuscripts have *caedes*, the editions *caedis*, which would have to be connected with *cruore: signa* are 'statues.' But it it plain that another place is meant, and we have inserted *Caere*, 'at Caere' (*Gram.* § 65, *a*, 2, note), for this Etruscan city is never wanting when superstition is spoken of. We must understand fountains naturally cold to be alluded to here; for there were hot springs also at Caere.

[3] A *via fornicata* was a road provided with arcades, or covered walks. That here mentioned was in the neighbourhood of the Campus Martius.

[4] This is a very extraordinary use of *se* for *eum;* not the ambassadors, but the king being meant. It appears to have been a slip of the author. He must have forgotten that it was the ambassadors who were speaking, for immediately afterwards we have the expression repeated.

[5] For *ducentorum.* The genitive plural in *um* for *orum* is not unfrequent with the cardinal numerals, and is the ordinary form with the distributives.

ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent; et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo jussissent, subvecturos. Milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum: levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis. Itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Baleares ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut praetor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam trajiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda. Ab senatu ita responsum regi est, virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse, atque uno tenore ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse, ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adjuvisse. Id perinde ac deberet, gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam allatum, gratia rei accepta,[1] non accipisse populum Romanum. Victoriam omenque accipere, sedemque ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium, templum Jovis Optimi Maximi: in ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam, volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittariique et frumentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio propraetore in Sicilia erant, quinque et viginti additae, permissumque est ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam trajiceret.

38. Delectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum socii ab nomine Latino venirent. Milites tum, quod nunquam antea factum erat, jurejurando ab tribunis militum adacti jussu consulum conventuros neque injussu abituros. Nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum[2] fuerat; et ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum[3] convenissent, sua

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[1] 'Though they had taken in kindly part the good feeling exhibited in the matter.'

[2] *Sacramentum* in general is 'a consecration;' that is, an assignment of something as the property of the gods: hence also, a declaration that a person who does not perform a particular duty incumbent upon him shall fall into the hands of the gods for punishment; thus 'an oath.' This, the general military oath, contained only a promise of implicit obedience. Besides taking it, however, the soldiers, as our author tells us here, had been in the habit of swearing among themselves to perform certain special duties. It was this latter oath which now, by the agency of the staff-officers (*tribuni militum*), was made a public one, and administered more formally than before.

[3] *Decuriatus* and *centuriatus*, substantives of the fourth declension, express the action of their respective verbs *decuriare* and *centuriare*; that is, the division of the cavalry into decuries, of which three

voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites, centuriati pedites conjurabant sese fugae atque formidinis ergo[1] non abituros, neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi[2] et aut hostis feriendi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos et ad legitimam jurisjurandi adactionem translatum.

Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere, denunciantes bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus, mansurumque in visceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. Collegae ejus Paulli una, pridie quam urbe proficisceretur,[3] contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo, mirari se quomodo quis dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis nosset, jam nunc togatus in urbe sciret, quae sibi agenda armato forent, et diem quoque praedicere posset, qua cum hoste signis collatis esset dimicaturus. Se, quae consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus ea ante tempus immatura non praecepturum. Optare ut, quae caute ac consulte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent. Temeritatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum[4] fuisse. Id[5] sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum; et quo id constantius perseveraret,[6] Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem allocutus fertur.

39. 'Si aut collegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, L. Aemili, haberes, aut tu collegae tui esses similis, supervacanea esset oratio mea: nam et duo boni consules, etiam me indicente,[7] omnia e re publica, fide vestra faceretis; et

made a *turma*, ten *turmae* again forming an *ala*; —and of the infantry into centuries, of which two made a *manipulus*, three maniples forming a cohort, and ten cohorts a legion.

[1] Equivalent to *causa*, *gratia*. See Zumpt, § 679.

[2] The using of both these words is an instance of the anxiety which we see, in all the formulae of Roman law, to avoid ground for quibbling about the exact meaning. *Sumere* is 'to take up' what is lying before one intended for use, *petere* 'to fetch' from a greater distance.

[3] The ordinary reading is *ex urbe proficiscerentur;* in giving the singular and the mere ablative (Zumpt, § 482), we follow the best manuscripts.

[4] 'Up to this time.' *Gram.* § 275, *c*, note 5.

[5] *Id* here is superfluous, as observed in chap. 34, p. 310, note 5. On the other hand, *eum* must be supplied before the infinitive.

[6] *Perseverare* is not, at least very rarely, used elsewhere with the accusative; usually, *in aliqua re.* But as to the accusative neuter of a pronoun with intransitive verbs, see *Gram.* § 249, 4.

[7] Equivalent to *non dicente;* this occurs elsewhere only in a pas-

mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem video nequicquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si altera parte claudet res publica :[1] malis consiliis idem ac bonis juris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paulle, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes: nescio an[2] infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat, et cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus sis certaturus; et adversus Hannibalem legionesque ejus tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militibus te sit oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flaminii memoria: tamen ille consul demum et in provincia et ad exercitum coepit furere: hic priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. Et qui tantas jam nunc procellas, proelia atque acies jactando, inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam juventutem censes facturum, et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur? Atqui si hic, quod facturum se denunciat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasimeno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum[3] est; et ego contemnendo potius quam appetendo gloriam modum excesserim.[4] Sed ita res se habet. Una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est, qua ego gessi. Nec eventus modo hoc docet (stultorum iste magister est) sed eadem ratio,

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sage in Terence, whereas *indictus* for *non dictus*, particularly in the phrase *causa indicta*, 'without the cause's having been pleaded,' is not uncommon. *Fideque vestra* would have been more in accordance with common usage, but the copulative conjunction is also not unfrequently omitted.

[1] 'You will in vain act as at once a good man and a good citizen, if the state limps (is lame) on the other side:' *claudet* = *clauda est*, from a verb *claudēre*. Compare *Gram.* § 212. Priscian, however, speaks of a form *claudĕre* (of the third conjugation), which would do very well here, *claudet* being in that case the future, = *clauda erit*. The verb *claudicare* also has the same intransitive sense; but here *claudicet*, which is the reading of the editions, is not supported by manuscript authority.

[2] *Nescio an* has, by common usage, become in meaning an adverb, with the force of our 'perhaps.' This 'perhaps,' however, frequently, as here, takes the sense of 'probably, very probably, certainly;' so that the doubt is merely in the form, not real.

[3] 'Against a single man.'

[4] 'I may have gone too far in despising glory rather than in seeking it.' The subjunctive, in the present and perfect, has less definiteness than the indicative.

quae fuit futuraque, donec res eaedem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro: omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt. Armis, viris, equis, commeatibus juvant juvabuntque: id jam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dederunt. Meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus diesque[1] facit. Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra, inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, ab patria. Nec illi terra neque. mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia; nihil usquam sui videt; in diem[2] rapto vivit. Partem vix tertiam exercitus ejus habet, quem Iberum amnem trajecit:[3] plures fames quam ferrum absumpsit; nec his paucis jam victus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo quin[4] sedendo superaturi simus eum, qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat? Quamdiu pro Geronii, castelli Apuliae inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis moenibus![5] Sed ne adversus te quidem ego gloriabor. Cn. Servilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide quemadmodum eum ludificati sint.[6] Haec una salutis est via, L. Paulle, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui quod hostium milites volent; idem Varro consul Romanus quod Hannibal Poenus imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes autem, adversus famam rumoresque hominum si satis firmus steteris; si te neque collegae vana gloria nequestua falsa infamia moverit. Veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, extingui nunquam. Gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit. Sine, timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli vocent. Malo te sapiens hostis metuat quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. Nec ego ut nihil agatur, sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna velim; tuae potestatis semper tuaque omnia sint;[7] armatus intentusque sis; neque occasioni tuae desis, neque suam occasionem hosti

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[1] 'The time from one day to another;' that is, every day more.

[2] 'From day to day;' that is, he never has means of support for more than one day.

[3] See xxi. 23, p. 210, note 4.

[4] *Quin* is used, because the question *dubitas ergo*, 'do you doubt then,' has a negative sense, being = 'you cannot doubt.'

[5] *Scil. sedit, stetit.*

[6] 'Have baffled him,' = *eluserint*, have rendered all his efforts fruitless.

[7] 'Let all things be in your own power, and belong to you;' that is, do nothing without mature consideration, and trust little to fortune.

des. Omnia non properanti clara certaque erunt: festinatio improvida est et caeca.'

40. Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane laeta fuit, magis fatentis ea, quae diceret,[1] vera quam facilia factu esse. Dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem[2] fuisse: quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu semiustum[3] effugisse: optare ut omnia prospere evenirent; at si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput objecturum.

Ab hoc sermone profectum Paullum tradunt, prosequentibus primoribus Patrum: plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, cum dignitates deessent.[4] Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam[5] factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus major pars et omne robur virium esset. consulum anni prioris M. Atilium aetatem excusantem[6] Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficiunt. Hannibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat,[7] sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat, omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum, quod compertum postea est, frumentum superesset, Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum expectata foret.

41. Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis praedatoribus tumultuario proelio ab procursu magis militum quam ex praeparato aut jussu imperatorum orto[8] haud-

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[1] *Scil. Fabius.*

[2] 'Unmanageable, ungovernable.'

[3] Or *semustum* = *ambustum*. See chap. 35, p. 311, note 2.

[4] 'The plebs, his own friends, who were more conspicuous from their numbers, high offices (officers) being wanting among them.' *Dignitates*, like *magistratus*, 'the offices of honour;' that is, frequently, those invested with them.

[5] 'In two different places.' See xxi. 8, p. 190, note 8.

[6] 'Who alleged his age as a ground of excuse;' that is, as a ground for being relieved of command.

[7] Equivalent to *supererat*. See chap. 25.

[8] 'In an irregular fight, which had arisen more in consequence of the running forward of the soldiers, than after preparation or by command of the generals.' As to *ex praeparato*, see Zumpt, § 309, *sub fin.*

quaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis.[1] Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paullus consul, cujus eo die (nam alternis[2] imperitabant) imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus, debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud aegerrime pati: quin potius credere velut inescatam[3] temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil praeter arma ferentes secum milites ducens, castra plena omnis fortunae publicae privataeque relinquit; transque proximos montes laeva pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem, medium agmen,[4] traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relicti in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga praeciperet, falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis[5] consules voluisse.

42. Ubi illuxit, subductae primo stationes,[6] deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Jam satis comperta solitudine in castris concursus fit ad praetoria consulum, nunciantium[7] fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint;[8] quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus ut signa proferri juberent, ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda. Et consul

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[1] 'While not more than a hundred of the Romans and allies fell.' Livy frequently uses the ablative absolute in this manner, merely to connect an accessory clause, sometimes even one embodying an objection, without at all implying a precedence in time, which is generally contained in the perfect participle.

[2] *Scil. diebus*, 'on alternate days.'

[3] 'Allured by the bait (*esca*).'

[4] Apposition: 'like a middle line of march.'

[5] 'In their place,' = *locis suis*.

[6] 'First, the fact that the (Carthaginian) outposts were withdrawn excited the amazement of the Romans;' the verb *fecit* agreeing with its last subject *silentium*.

[7] Governed by *concursus*, 'a rush (of soldiers) who told.'

[8] The perfect subjunctive, depending on the presents *concursus fit* and *nunciantium;* and we have immediately afterwards *esset*, by a very natural transition into the ordinary historical past.

alter velut unus turbae militaris erat,[1] Paullus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum praecavendumque esse. Postremo cum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris jussis, ipse cum duobus equitibus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia cum cura renunciat insidias profecto esse: ignes in parte castrorum, quae vergat in hostem, relictos; tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relicta, argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias velut objectum ad praedam vidisse. Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nunciata erant, ea accenderunt; et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit: nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. Paullus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio[2] non addixissent, obnunciari jam efferenti porta signa collegae jussit. Quod quamquam Varro aegre est passus, Flaminii tamen recens casus Claudiique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades[3] religionem animo incussit. Dii prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere imminentem pestem Romanis. Nam forte ita evenit ut, cum referri signa in castra jubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos: deductique ad consules nunciant omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit,[4] cum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia majestatem solvisset.[5]

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[1] 'Conducted himself like one of the excited crowd of soldiers'—joining in their shouts.

[2] 'In taking the auspices,' or 'at the auspices;' that is, when he was consulting the birds as to the will of the gods. It is an ablative of time or occasion. The observation of the sacred chickens, particularly as to whether they greedily picked up from the ground the food thrown down before them or not, was a different kind of *auspicium* from that which consisted in watching the flight of birds, and in later times, as well as in war, was more practised than the latter.

[3] 'The memorable naval defeat.' This defeat was sustained by the Romans in the year 249 B.C., near Drepana. The consul, P. Claudius Pulcher, had despised the auspices. As to *memorata*, see chap. 7, p. 275, note 3; and as to C. Flaminius, compare xxi. 63.

[4] 'Made the consuls masters of their command;' that is, gave them authority.

[5] 'The exertions of the one consul to gain the affections of the

43. Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequicquam, detecta fraude, in castra redit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequibat; novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex colluvione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annonam[1] primo, postremo famem, et mercenarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut relicto peditatu omni cum equitibus se proriperet. Cum haec consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus[2] Apuliae loca, simul ut, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte, ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis, cum relatum esset visum procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari coepta. Cum utriusque consulis eadem, quae ante semper fuisset, sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paullo nemo praeter Servilium prioris anni consulem assentiretur, majoris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas, urgente fato, profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Vulturno vento,[3] qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare praecipue futurum erat, cum aciem dirigerent, ipsi aversi, terga tantum afflante vento, in occaecatum pulvere effuso hostem pugnaturi.[4]

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soldiers (*ambitio*) had, by wrong indulgence, first undermined their respect for himself (and afterwards injured the influence of his colleague also).'

[1] 'Complaining of the dearness of corn:' *queri aliquam rem* for *queri de aliqua re* is not uncommon. *Annona* is properly a year's produce in grain, and then the cheapness or dearness consequent on an abundant or poor harvest. *Cara annona*, consequently, or sometimes, as here, simply *annona*, is 'dearness.' In a similar manner *valetudo*, properly 'the state of health,' commonly means, when the attribute *bona* is not given to it, 'bad health.'

[2] 'Earlier for the harvests;' that is, places in which the harvest came on sooner.

[3] The usual name in Italy for the south-east wind; the Εὐρόνοτος of the Greeks.

[4] 'When they should engage with the enemy, who would be blinded by the dust blown against them.'

44. Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, ut ventum ad Cannas est, ubi in conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communiunt, eodem ferme intervallo quo ad Geronium, sicut ante, copiis divisis. Aufidus amnis, utrisque castris affluens, aditum aquatoribus ex sua cujusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium.[1] Hannibal spem nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem, lacessitque Numidarum procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paullus Semproniique et Flaminii temeritatem Varroni, Varro speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium objiceret,[2] testareturque deos hominesque hic,[3] nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal jam velut usucepisset Italiam, se constrictum a collega teneri, ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid projectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret,[4] se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret: videret ut,[5] quibus lingua tam prompta ac temeraria, aeque in pugna vigerent manus.

45. Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam cum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in

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[1] The Aufidus (now Ofanto) flows mainly in the direction from west to east, rising in the Samnite hills, and passing through Apulia to the Adriatic. On the south bank was Hannibal, and immediately in front of him, on the same side, the larger of the Roman camps. On the other (north) side of the river stood the smaller camp, distant ten stadia, or about a quarter of a geographical mile from the larger, and a little further from the enemy's. The town of Cannae, on the south bank, further down the river, and consequently to the east of the various camps, was in the hands of the Romans.

[2] 'Varro threw the example of Fabius in the teeth of Paullus as one which appeared beautiful, and was pleasing to timid and lazy generals.'

[3] The last-mentioned subject; namely, Varro.

[4] 'If any misfortune should happen;' for *accidit* is said of bad fortune, as *contingit* of good.

[5] 'He ought to take good care that;' pretty much the same as *se vereri ut.* See *Gram.* § 352, note 2.

stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt.[1] Id vero indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio[2] jam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paullum fuerit.[3] Itaque Varro postero die, cui sors ejus diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum proposuit, instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paullo, quia magis non probare quam non adjuvare consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adjungunt; atque ita instructa acie in dextro cornu (id erat flumini propius) Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites. Laevum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium juncti legionibus Romanis tenuerunt. Jaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta.[4] Consules cornua tenuerunt, Terentius laevum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda[5] data.

46. Hannibal luce prima, Balearibus levique alia armatura praemissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat. Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua[6] essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam magna ex parte crederes aciem: ita armati erant, armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasimenum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta ejusdem formae fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano punctim magis quam caesim[7] assueto petere hostem brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Sane et alius habitus

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[1] *Evecti sunt* is here=*invecti sunt*, implying, however, that the Numidians merely made a sudden dash from the position which they had taken up against the Roman outposts, without making a very serious matter of it.

[2] 'By irregular auxiliaries.' The plural *auxilia* is commonly used in this sense. Compare Zumpt, § 675.

[3] The indicative *fuit* would have suited the sense better; but the subjunctive stands in connection with the preceding *tenuerit*.

[4] Or *facti*, as the editions read. Either is quite good; for in cases such as this the verb which forms the copula may agree either with the noun of the subject or that of the predicate. See *Gram.* § 241, note.

[5] 'To take charge of, superintend.'

[6] 'Both flanks;' that is, of the infantry stationed in the middle. Properly *utrumque cornu*. See *Gram.* § 120, note 3.

[7] *Punctim—caesim.* See *Gram.* § 221.

gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum tum specie terribilis erat. Galli super umbilicum erant nudi: Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum steterunt in acie, milium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus praeerant, sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal: mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol, seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita stetere, peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in meridiem, Poenis in septentrionem versis. Ventus (Vulturnum regionis incolae vocant) adversus Romanis coortus[1] multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

47. Clamore sublato procursum auxiliis,[2] et pugna levibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laevum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris more pugnae: frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio hinc amnis hinc peditum acies claudebant in directum utrimque nitentes. Stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis,[3] vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo; pedestre magna jam ex parte certamen factum erat. Acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est; pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt.[4] Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna. Primo et viribus et animis pares constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque: tandem Romani, diu ac saepe connisi, aequa fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie.[5] Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem insistere;

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[1] 'Which had arisen unfavourable to the Romans.'

[2] So the manuscripts read; the editions *ab auxiliis*. The dative of the agent occurs very frequently with the passive, particularly with the perfect.

[3] 'The horses standing still, and at last, by their numbers, being crowded against each other.'

[4] This was the first turning-point of the battle. The Roman cavalry on the right wing were wholly put to flight; but the Carthaginians did not pursue them, for Hasdrubal led away his horsemen to the Carthaginian right wing, in order to settle matters there, and then to assist the infantry, and thus finish the fight.

[5] This, according to Polybius, was the principal feature in Hannibal's arrangement of his troops. He placed the column of Gauls and Spaniards in the middle of his infantry, standing out a considerable way beyond the Africans. The Roman centre troops spent their strength on this column, and forcing it to retire, rushed on with eagerness; but were immediately attacked, surrounded, and annihilated by the still fresh Africans. On account, then, of the importance of this advanced position of the Gauls and Spaniards, Livy mentions it again immediately afterwards.

ac tenore uno per praeceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem illati, postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum[1] prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus aequavit frontem primum, deinde nitendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa jam cornua fecerant, irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes.[2] Hinc Romani defuncti nequicquam proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, et adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam quod inclusi adversus circumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

48. Jam et in sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat, segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter consueta arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab suis, parmas post terga habentes, adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et jaculis ante pedes hostium projectis in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considere ab tergo jubentur: ac dum proelium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt. Postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes stragem ingentem ac majorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala jam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praeerat,[3] subductos ex media acie Numidas,[4] quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad

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[1] 'A good way.'

[2] As soon as this column of Gauls and Spaniards, being forced back, came to have its front on a line with the Africans, and, still retreating, in consequence of the eager advance of the Romans (*nitendo*), made a bend in the centre of the line, the Africans formed wings on the flanks of the Romans. These were gradually extended, and at last joined in the rear of the rash Romans, who were thus completely surrounded.

[3] *Ea parte* is on the Carthaginian right wing. Livy, however, has forgotten to mention, by way of explanation, that Hasdrubal, who had originally been stationed with the Gallic and Spanish cavalry on the left wing, had, after putting to flight the Roman horsemen who were opposed to him, passed round from the left wing to the right, and assumed the command there.

[4] *Ex media acie* is here nothing else than 'from the middle of the

persequendos passim fugientes mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris prope jam fessis caede magis quam pugna adjungit.

49. Parte altera pugnae[1] Paullus, quamquam primo statim proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit saepe cum confertis[2] Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum deinde nuncianta[3] cuidam jussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt 'Quam mallem, vinctos mihi traderet!'[4] Equitum pedestre proelium, quale jam haud dubia hostium victoria,[5] fuit, cum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen jam paucos superantes et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum cum praetervehens equo sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem vidisset, 'L. Aemili' inquit, 'quem unum insontem culpae cladis hodiernae dei respicere debent,[6] cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid superest, comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris: etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.' Ad ea consul 'Tu

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fight,' *media* referring more to the time than to the position. The Italian cavalry had already given way, and the Numidians, therefore, were now to pursue them further.

[1] That is, on the right wing of the Romans, but nearer the centre, and in the battle of the heavy infantry; for Aemilius, after the cavalry on his wing was put to flight, went over, accompanied by those of the horsemen who had not fled, or had returned, to the still undecided infantry struggle.

[2] 'With a dense band around him;' that is, with the body-guard that he had as a consul and general.

[3] The ordinary reading is *tum denuncianti;* but *denunciare* has, generally speaking, only the signification 'to threaten.' *Tum deinde* are not unfrequently connected by Livy.

[4] 'How much would I prefer that he should give them up to me bound!' Plutarch, in his Life of Fabius, chap. 16, states that Hannibal said Τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἠβουλόμην ἢ εἰ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον, 'I like this better than if I had received them bound.' Livy's expression can have this sense only if understood ironically. Without irony, it contains an acknowledgment that the Carthaginians had still a hard fight before them with these men who had devoted themselves to death. And this appears to be more in accordance with Livy's representation.

[5] 'Such as it could not be with the victory already decided in favour of the enemy.'

[6] 'The gods ought to regard;' that is, care for, rescue.

quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto,[1] sed cave, frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nuncia publice Patribus, urbem Romanam muniant ac priusquam hostis victor adveniat, praesidiis firment; privatim Q. Fabio, L. Aemilium praeceptorum ejus memorem et vixisse adhuc et mori.[2] Memet in hac strage militum meorum patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum ex consulatu sim,[3] aut accusator collegae existam, ut alieno crimine[4] innocentiam meam protegam.' Haec exigentes[5] prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere: consulem, ignorantes quis esset, obruere telis; Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum inde effuse fugiunt; septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in majora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt; qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus, nullo munimento tegente vicum, circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio, nulli fugientium insertus[6] agmini cum septuaginta ferre equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque milia peditum, duo milia septingenti equites, et tanta prope civium sociorumque[7] pars, caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, unus et viginti tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetoriique et aedilicii (inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante consul fuerat), octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, cum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites trecenti dicuntur.

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[1] 'Be blest for thy valour;' an expression of approbation, derived from the fact that an animal led for sacrifice to the altar, when besprinkled with corn, salt, and wine, and thus, as it were, consecrated, was called *mactus, a, um.* From this ceremony came also the verbs *mactare* and *immolare*, which, in the language of priests, were used for *caedere.* In the phrase *macte esto*, it must be observed that the vocative is used for the nominative, which latter is required by grammatical rules.

[2] The position in ordinary editions is *et vixisse et adhuc mori*, which the meaning of *adhuc* shows to be incorrect.

[3] See chap. 35.

[4] 'By accusing another.'

[5] 'While they were making these requests to each other.'

[6] The manuscripts have *infestus*, which all editors admit to be incorrect. Varro fled separately, without falling in with and joining any of the other bands of fugitives.

[7] *Sociorumque* is here = *quanta sociorum.* 'as great a number of the citizens as of the allies;' that is, an equal number of both.

50. Haec est pugna Cannensis, Alliensi cladi nobilitate par, ceterum ut illis, quae post pugnam accidere, levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior foediorque. Fuga namque ad Alliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitum servavit: ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix septuaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.[1]

Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus esset, nuncium qui in majoribus erant mittunt, dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari: cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire,[2] cum aeque conjungi possent! Quia videlicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent objicere. Aliis non tam sententia displicere quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum 'Capi ergo mavultis' inquit 'ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, aestimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri[3] honos quaeratur! Non tu, si quidem L. Aemilii consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum, qui circa eum cumulati jacent, cives estis.[4] Sed antequam opprimat lux majoraque hostium agmina obsepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia via fit quamvis per confertos hostes.[5] Cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet, disjicias. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam salvam vultis.' Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium, cuneoque[6] facto per medios vadit hostes. Et cum

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[1] The genitive of possession (*Gram.* § 278) not unfrequently expresses a sort of fanciful relation, as here: 'almost the whole army shared the fate of the consul who died.'

[2] As to those indirect questions which are expressed by the accusative with the infinitive, see *Gram.* § 389. The subjunctive also might be used here, *cur illi non venirent?*

[3] Namely, to the *socius Latinus*, who might hope that Hannibal would either let him free, as he had done after the battle of Lake Trasimenus (see chap. 7), or would fix a lower ransom for him, as really happened (chap. 52). The Roman *tribunus militum* is evidently speaking merely to Roman citizens.

[4] For *civis es*, the *tu* in the preceding clause meaning, in reality, not one person, but a whole class. To the *tu* supply *id patieris*.

[5] 'Through enemies ever so thickly crowded.'

[6] The author has inadvertently made a hexameter. Compare Zumpt, § 819. *Dicta dare*, poetical for *dicere*.

in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae jacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis in majora castra ad sexcentos[1] evaserunt; atque inde protinus, alio magno agmine adjuncto, Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Haec apud victos magis impetu animorum, quod[2] ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cujusquam agebantur.

51. Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur, suaderentque ut tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod reliquum esset noctisque insequentis,[3] quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal praefectus equitum minime cessandum ratus, 'Immo, ut quid hac pugna sit actum scias, die quinto' inquit 'victor in Capitolio epulaberis.[4] Sequere: cum equite, ut prius venisse quam venturum sciant, praecedam.' Hannibali nimis laeta res est visa, majorque quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait: ad consilium pensandum temporis[5] opus esse. Tum Maharbal 'Non omnia nimirum eidem dii dedere. Vincere scis, Hannibal; victoria uti nescis.' Mora ejus diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

Postero die ubi primum illuxit, ad spolia legenda foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt. Jacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna junxerat aut fuga.[6] Assurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta[7] matutino

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[1] Or *ad sexcenti.* See Zumpt, § 296, middle, and above, chap. 31, p. 306, note 4.

[2] *Quod* (for *quem, scil. impetum,* which is given in the ordinary editions) refers to the general *haec:* 'these things were done among the conquered; namely, whatever (or just as anything) was suggested to any one by his mind or by chance.'

[3] 'For the rest of the day, and during the following night;' literally, 'and of the following night,' which is plainly an inaccurate expression, since *reliquum,* 'the rest,' refers properly only to *diei,* 'of the day;' and we should therefore have *diei quod reliquum esset noctemque insequentem.* But we must suppose that at least a part of the army was engaged in following up the victory, even into the night.

[4] 'Thou wilt feast,' is said instead of 'thou must feast,' in the sense of the imperative 'feast;' and in order to do so, commence thy march immediately.

[5] For *tempore.* Similarly, in xxiii. 21, *quanti argenti opus fuit.* This construction must be explained by the analogy of *egere* with the ablative and genitive.

[6] *Pugna* and *fuga* are ablatives, 'in the battle or in the flight.'

[7] *Vulnera stringuntur,* 'wounds smart;' that is, have a sort of cutting feeling on the surface.

frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Quosdam et jacentes vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt, nudantes cervicem[1] jugulumque, et reliquum sanguinem jubentes haurire. Inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentesque ora superjecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes substratus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus, naso auribusque laceratis,[2] cum, manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa laniando dentibus hostem expirasset.

52. Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum, brachio[3] objecto, flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore, vigiliis, vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecenis nummis quadrigatis,[4] in socios ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt; traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea cum ex majoribus castris, quibus satis virium aut animi fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condicione qua altera tradita hosti. Praeda ingens parta est; et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti (quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat: nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur[5]) omnis cetera[6] praeda diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum jussit. Ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem

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[1] Livy uses both the singular and plural of this word in its proper signification (see Zumpt, § 94, middle, and note), in its figurative the plural only.

[2] The Numidian was still alive, but his nose and ears were bitten off.

[3] *Brachium*, generally 'the arm,' here 'a fortified wall.'

[4] 'They agreed on three hundred *nummi quadrigati* for each Roman.' The ablative of price; the discharge which was to follow the payment is mentioned in the next clause. A *nummus quadrigatus* was a silver denarius, stamped with the mark of a *quadriga*. Twenty-five of these made a *nummus aureus*, so that the ransom which was agreed upon for each Roman amounted to twelve gold pieces.

[5] 'For of silver wrought for feasting (that is, for services of plate) they used very little at any time, and particularly when engaged in war.'

[6] The position *cetera omnis* is much more common.

quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

Eos qui Canusium perfugerant mulier Apula nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam juvit; pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt.

53. Ceterum cum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cujus pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio, et de legione tertia Ap. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime aedilis fuerat, omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum adolescentem et ad Ap. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nunciat P. Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, nequicquam eos perditam spem fovere; desperatam comploratamque rem esse publicam. Nobiles juvenes quosdam, quorum principem L. Caecilium Metellum,[1] mare ac naves spectare, ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem[2] transfugiant. Quod malum, praeterquam atrox,[3] super tot clades etiam novum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset qui aderant,[4] et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio juvenis, fatalis[5] dux hujusce belli. Audendum atque agendum, non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse. Irent secum extemplo armati, qui rem publicam salvam vellent. Nullo loco verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur, hostium castra esse. Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in hospitium Metelli, et cum concilium ibi juvenum de quibus allatum erat invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio, 'Ex mei animi sententia'[6] inquit 'ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram, neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar. Si sciens fallo, tum me, Juppiter Optime

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[1] *Scil. esse*, and as to this construction of the accusative with the infinitive, instead of the subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 386.

[2] Some one of the kings of the Graeco-Macedonian dynasty, such as Ptolemaeus Philopator of Egypt, Antiochus the Great of Syria, both of whom reigned at that time, or other kings, of Pergamus, of Bithynia, or even Philip III. of Macedonia.

[3] Equivalent to *praeterquam quod atrox erat*. See Zumpt, § 735.

[4] 'Had fixed to the spot with amazement those who were present.'

[5] 'Destined by fate.'

[6] A common formula of asseveration, equal to our 'on honour and conscience.' In looking at it, the addition of the personal pronoun must not be forgotten. *Neque* in the following clause (more frequently *nec*) is = *ne—quidem*, 'not even.' See Zumpt, § 277, middle.

Maxime, domum familiam remque meam pessimo leto afficias. In haec verba, L. Caesili, jures postulo, ceterique qui adestis: qui non juraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat.' Haud secus pavidi quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, jurant omnes, custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

54. Eo tempore quo haec Canusii agebantur, Venusiam ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque cum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicenos, et pediti denos, et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt.[1] Ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta, certatumque ne a muliere Canusina populus Venucinus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busae multitudo faciebat, et jam ad decem milia hominum erant. Appiusque et Scipio postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuncium extemplo mittunt, quantae secum peditum equitumque copiae essent, sciscitatumque simul, utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum an manere juberet Canusii. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit. Et jam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat; moenibusque se certe, si non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.

Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisum[2] cum duobus consulibus exercitum deletasque omnes copias allatum fuerat. Nunquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri, neque aggrediar narrare, quae edissertando minora vero fecero. Consule exercituque ad Trasimenum priore anno amisso non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades,[3] cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nunciabantur, nec ulla jam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse, Hannibalis Apulium, Samnium ac jam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Compares[4] cladem ad Aegates insulas Carthaginiensium

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[1] A noble help in time of need, such, indeed, as could have been expected only from a Roman colony, whereas Canisium was merely a city of the allies (Apulians).

[2] *Occidione occidi*, a phrase for *ad internecionem occidi*, *ad unum omnes*, 'to be utterly annihilated, slain to a man.'

[3] 'A much greater defeat.' Compare chap. 7, p. 275. note 5.

[4] 'Will you compare?' that is, 'will any one compare?' See *Gram.* § 349. As to the distinction between *vectigalis* and *stipendiarus*, see xxi. 41, p. 236. note 6. Here, however, this is nothing but a heaping together of words, since the Carthaginians could, in

proelio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere, inde vectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt? aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit? Nulla ex parte comparandae sunt, nisi quod[1] minore animo latae sunt.

55. P. Furius Philus et M'. Pomponius praetores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia consulerent: neque enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum.[2] Cum in malis, sicut ingentibus, ita ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent,[3] obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum, et nondum palam facto[4] vivi mortuique per omnes pene domos promiscue complorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percunctando (aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore) referant, quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit; et si quid dii immortales, miseriti imperii, reliquum Romani nominis[5] fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit; quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Haec exploranda noscendaque per impigros juvenes esse. Illud per Patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratuum parum sit,[6] ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant: comploratus familiarum coerceant; silentium per urbem faciant; nuncios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos curent; suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem[7] expectent; custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbem, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus salvis salutem sperare. Ubi conti-

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truth, be called only *stipendiarii*, having for many years to pay a war contribution to the Romans.

[1] That is, 'and if you do compare them, the result will be, not certainly that they were more severe defeats, but that,' &c.

[2] As to *dubito* followed by the accusative with the infinitive, see *Gram.* § 352, note 4, *sub fin.*

[3] 'As they could come to no sufficiently prompt determination.' This is the idea contained in the verb *expedire.*

[4] 'No information having been given as yet;' namely, who of the soldiers had perished. See Zumpt, § 648.

[5] *Romanum nomen=cives Romani*, 'men who bear the Roman name,' on the analogy of *nomen Latinum.*

[6] 'Since too few of the magistrates are at hand.' *Parum* with the genitive. See *Gram.* § 275, *b.*

[7] 'Messenger, news-bringer.'

cuerit recte tumultus, tum in curiam Patres revocandos[1] consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

56. Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent,[2] summotaque foro per magistratus turba Patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litterae a Terentio consule allatae sunt L. Aemilium consulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantae cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem. Ad decem milia[3] militum ferme esse incompositorum inordinatorumque. Poenum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum pretiis praedaque alia nec victoris animo nec magni ducis more nundinantem.[4] Tum privatae quoque per domos clades vulgatae sunt; adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas, nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum cum sedato urbis tumultu revocati in curiam Patres essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia litterae allatae sunt ab T. Otacilio propraetore, regnum Hieronis classe Punica vastari: cui cum opem imploranti ferre vellet, nunciatum sibi esse aliam classem ad Aegates insulas stare, paratam instructamque ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam[5] aggrederentur. Itaque classe[6] opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

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[1] 'That when the disturbance has been properly put down, then the senators must again be summoned.' This is the position of the word *recte* in the manuscripts, not, as in the editions, in the following clause, and connected with *revocandos esse.*

[2] 'As all had agreed in this opinion;' for the voting in the Roman senate was by the members favourable to a proposal going to one side of the house, and those unfavourable to the other. Hence the expressions *discessionem facere,* 'to come to a division,' and *discedere* or *pedibus ire in aliquam sententiam.*

[3] From preceding chapters, it appears that there were about 14,500 men at Canusium with the consul. Probably, therefore, we should read here *quindecim* instead of *decem.*

[4] *Nundinari* is said of a person engaged in trade, buying and selling in the market. It is here probably not an expression used by the consul, but merely by the historian throwing in his own opinion.

[5] 'The other Roman province;' that is, the other part of Sicily—namely, the Roman province: for this part is not distinguished from a previously-mentioned province, but from that part of Sicily which formed the kingdom of Hiero.

[6] *Scil. nova,* that which the praetor had being only sufficient to protect the province, not to assist the king.

57. Litteris consulis praetorisque lectis, M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum censuerunt, scribendumque consuli ut, cum praetori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertae,[1] et altera sub terra, ut mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat. L. Cantilius scriba pontificis, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant,[2] qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio caesus erat, ut inter verbera expiraret. Hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire jussi sunt; et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus suppliciisque[3] deos possent placare, et quaenam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro boario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conseptum, jam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.[4]

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[1] 'Convicted, proved guilty.' This perfect participle of *comperire*, 'to discover,' is construed with the genitive of the crime. See *Gram.* § 282, note 1.

[2] 'A clerk belonging to the class now called lesser pontiffs.' A *scriba* was not a private writer, but one officially connected in some way with the state. The college of pontifices had, from the deep religious spirit of the Romans, many and important matters to superintend; for they had the management of all affairs relating to religion, whether concerning the living or the dead, and had, besides, the special duty of regulating the calendar. As the pontifices themselves were men of high rank, most of the hard work fell, as is usual in such cases, to the subordinates—the so-called 'lesser pontiffs.'

[3] *Supplicia*, anciently for *supplicationes*. In this sense it is particularly common in Sallust. As to Fabius, compare chap. 7, p. 275, note 6.

[4] 'The place had already been made familiar with human sacrifices, a custom by no means Roman:' we should have translated *imbutum* by 'defiled,' if the word were not used of accustoming to what is good as well as to what is bad; for example, *adolescens imbuitur studiis et virtutibus*, as well as *vitiis*. Livy calls these sacrifices 'by no means Roman;' but he cannot deny that the superstition of his countrymen carried them away occasionally into the practice of this abomination, only that the victims were foreigners. No doubt it was intended by the sacrifice of Gauls and Greeks to avert the calamity of the taking of Rome by a mighty foreign foe; and it appears that the Greek book of fate did not mention Carthaginians as enemies to be feared, else perhaps individuals of

Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis, M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit; ipse legione classica (ea legio tertia[1] erat) cum tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum praemissa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo collegae, paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate Patrum dictus M. Junius, et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum, delectu edicto juniores ab annis septemdecim[2] et quosdam praetextatos scribunt. Quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. Item ad socios Latinumque nomen ad milites ex formula[3] accipiendos mittunt. Arma, tela, alia parari jubent; et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et aliam formam novi delectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit: octo milia juvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos vellentne militare, empta publice armaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit, cum pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

58. Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, cum captivis productis segregatisque socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Tracimenumque lacum, benigne allocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque vocatos, quod nunquam alias antea, satis miti sermone alloquitur: non internecivum[4] sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Romanae cessisse; et[5] se id anniti ut suae invicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur.

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that nation might have been chosen in preference to avert the doom of fate.

[1] This is the reading of the manuscripts and editions; but as—according to chap. 27, *sub fin.*, and chap. 53, *sub init.*—the third legion had been all along engaged on land against Hannibal, we should probably read *tertia decima.* Teanum Sidicinum, now Teano, on the way to Capua, and not far from that city. The addition *Sidicinum* distinguishes this place from Teanum Apulum.

[2] Or *decem et septem, decem septem, septem decem*—all of which forms have authority, whilst here *septendecim* is not at all confirmed by the manuscripts. However, on account of the negligence of editors, it is impossible to state with precision what is the form given in the best manuscripts. Compare Zumpt, § 115, note 2.

[3] 'According to the contract, the written agreement defining the rights and duties of the *civitates Latinae* and *Coloniae Latinae* (which together formed the *nomen Latinum*), and of the *civitates sociorum Italicorum.*

[4] 'A war of extermination.' To the following *certare* supply *se.*

[5] 'And that as his forefathers had yielded to the valour of the Romans, so he was exerting himself that,' &c. The Latin idiom is fond of connecting antithetical clauses by an *et—et.*

Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere: pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, servo centenos. Quamquam aliquantum adjiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium, quo pepigerant[1] dedentes se, laeti tamen quamcunque[2] condicionem paciscendi acceperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi qui Romam ad senatum irent; nec pignus aliud fidei quam ut jurarent se redituros acceptum. Missus cum his Carthalo nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret animos,[3] condiciones ferret. Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, jurisjurandi solvendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites assequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nunciatum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nunciaret ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis; legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est.

59. Quorum princeps M. Junius 'Patres conscripti,' inquit, 'nemo nostrum ignorat nulli unquam civitati viliores fuisse captivos quam nostrae. Ceterum nisi nobis plus[4] justo nostra placet causa, non alii unquam minus negligendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus, sed cum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, fessi labore ac vulneribus, vallum sumus tutati; postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur, nec ulla jam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus quinquaginta milibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tum demum pacti sumus pretium quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil jam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. Majores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse; et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condicionem pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum[5] misisse. Atqui

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[1] 'On which they had agreed:' see chap. 52. The ablative of price with *pangere*, as well as *pacisci*, both verbs having to some extent the same signification. See *Gram.* § 157.

[2] 'Any,' properly *quamlibet*, because absolute. Zumpt, § 706.

[3] 'If he should incline their minds (those of the Romans) to peace.' This is the reading of the best manuscripts. The common one, *si inclinarent animos = si Romani se inclinarent*, excludes any agency of Carthalo, and such a state of mind in the Romans was rather more than Hannibal could venture to expect.

[4] As to *plus* for *magis*, see Zumpt, § 725, *fin.*

[5] Where the head-quarters of King Pyrrhus were in the winter

et ad Alliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho, utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore ac fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt; nec supersumus pugnae nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam, qui ne in acie quidem refugerunt, sed praesidio castris relicti, cum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunae aut condicioni invideo, nec premendo alium me extulisse velim:[1] ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusii constiterunt, se nobis merito praetulerint.[2] gloriatique sint in se plus quam in nobis praesidii rei publicae esse. Sed illis ut bonis ac fortibus[3] militibus utemini, et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus. Delectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis; octo milia servorum audio armari. Non minor numerus noster est, nec majore pretio redimi possumus quam hi emunter. Nam si conferam nos cum illis, injuriam nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, Patres conscripti, si tamen duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis. Pyrrho videlicet, qui vos[4] hospitum numero habuit captivos, an barbaro ac Poeno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimari potest? Si videatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum expectantiumque responsum vestrum. Cum ii pro nobis proque iis, qui absunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? Sed si,

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of 280 B.C., after he had conquered the Romans on the Liris, near Heraclea.

[1] For *me efferre velim*. See *Gram.* § 371, note 2.

[2] 'Cannot have justly preferred themselves to us;' that is, have not acted justly, if they have preferred themselves to us.

[3] 'As good and brave soldiers.' The orator himself despises those who have saved themselves, but still will not oppose their being looked upon as good soldiers.

[4] 'You;' that is, your forefathers: *hospitum numero*, as friends to whom he was bound by the ties of hospitality; it might also have been *in numero hospitum*. See *Gram.* § 307, 1.

me dius fidius.[1] ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, cum indigni ut[2] redimeremur a vobis visi sumus. Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio capti: sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis! Suum quisque habet animum. Patres conscripti. Scio in discrimine esse vitam corpusque meum: magis me famae periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus. Neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent.'

60. Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quae in comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant, orantes ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro ac turbae virorum immiscuerat. Senatus summotis arbitris consuli coeptus. Ibi cum sententiis variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam faciendam, nec prohibendos ex privato redimi;[3] si quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandam ex aerario pecuniam mutuam, praedibusque ac praediis[4] cavendum populo censerent; tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis durae, ut plerisque videatur,[5] severitatis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus fertur. 'Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum brevi sententiam peregissem. Quid enim aliud[6] quam admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum

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[1] As to the origin of this exclamation, see Zumpt, § 361, note.

[2] *Indigni sumus qui redimamur*, or *ut redimamur*, or, poetical, *redimi*. See *Gram.* § 360, 2, with note.

[3] *Prohibeor redimere*, 'I am hindered from ransoming another,' is nothing extraordinary. See *Gram.* § 375. But *prohibeor* with the infinitive passive, as here, is somewhat odd: 'I am prevented from being ransomed;' that is, by another. Similarly, however, in iii. 28, we find *Jam se ad prohibenda circumdari opera Aequi parabant*, 'the Aequi prepared to prevent the enemy's works from being brought all round them.'

[4] *Praedes* are 'sureties,' *praedia* 'estates handed over as security;' so that the general signification of *praedium*, 'farm, estate, piece of ground,' was derived from the fact that then, as now, landed security was thought the best.

[5] So the manuscripts read, the editions generally *videbatur*. Livy's meaning is, people now may think he was too severe. This must be the meaning; for had he seemed too severe to most people then — namely, at the time when he spoke these words — the *senatus consultum* would have been different from what it was.

[6] As to this ellipsis of a tense of *facere* or *agere*, see Zumpt, § 77

a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem cum prope gloriati sint, quod se hostibus dediderint, praeterque non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiam iis qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli, aequum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, Patres conscripti, quae illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar. Atque utinam haec, quae apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviae cujusque et virtutis; aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium potestate essent. Sed, cum, fessis pugnando hostibus, tum victoria laetis et ipsis[1] plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem armatorum hominum milia perrumpere etiam confertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari[2] eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Sicut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, sicut nobis adolescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma[3] trecentis voluntariis, cum ad tumulum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit *Moriamur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones:* si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros quidem nec Romanos[4] vos duceret, si nemo tantae virtutis extitisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demon-

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[1] 'And also having retired, most of them, into their camp.' *Et ipse* is 'also;' the *et*, however, serving also as a copula.

[2] *Monere* refers to the reproaches which Tuditanus threw against them, *adhortari* to his rousing and inflaming the flickerings of courage and energy which still existed among them. *Admonemus cunctantem, adhortamur proficiscentem.*

[3] The patriotic self-devotion of two Roman *tribuni militum*, who, to save the rest of the army, threw themselves and their cohorts in the way of the enemy, is often spoken of with high commendation; and the more joyfully because they both escaped the death which appeared certain. The exploit of P. Decius Mus, in a war with the Samnites, is related in Liv. vii. 34: that of M. Calpurnius Flamma was performed in Sicily during the First Punic war; but from the loss of the second decade of Livy's work, we have not his account of it. It is related, however, in an extract from Cato's *Origines* preserved by Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, iii. 7.

[4] 'Neither as men nor as Romans;' but as *quidem* is joined to the one *nec* with the sense that it has in the expression *ne—quidem*, the meaning here is *non modo Romanos sed ne viros quidem*.

strat; reduces in patriam ad parentes, ad conjuges ac liberos facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus? Quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta milia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa jacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil unquam movebit; si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. Et liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam: immo[1] desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives ejus estis. Sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite,[2] abalienati jure civium, servi Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio redituri estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium civem vestrum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se jubentem: Hannibalem post paullo audistis castra prodi et arma tradi jubentem. Quam ego ignaviam istorum accuso, cum scelus possim accusare? Non enim modo sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertes summovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret? quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem haberet. Ex milibus septem armatorum sexcenti extiterunt, qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent: neque iis quadraginta milia[3] hostium obstitere. Quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti milia armatorum Canusii, fortia, fidelia, Patres conscripti. Nunc autem quemadmodum hi boni fidelesque (nam fortes ne ipsi quidem dixerint) cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest fuisse, ut[4] erumpentibus, quin erumperent, obsistere conati sunt; aut non invidere eos[5] cum incolumitati tum

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[1] *Immo* unsays the previous sentence, and puts a stronger in its place. Zumpt, § 277. The former sentence was, 'Long for your fatherland, whilst you are freemen;' the new one, 'nay, long for it whilst you have a country; but as you have now lost it by your cowardice, it is needless to speak of longing for it.'

[2] One who loses his liberty, or his right of citizenship, or his position in his tribe, or the right of voting according to the census, underwent, according to Roman notions, a loss of *caput;* that is, civil existence. The degrees of this loss were of such a kind, that the *maxima deminutio capitis* (in the loss of the rights of citizenship) naturally included the less and least (*minima capitis deminutio*).

[3] The manuscripts read *sexcenta milia*, which is evidently far too large a number; but the reading should probably be *sexaginta milia*.

[4] Equivalent to *cum*, of time, 'unless a person can believe that they were so then, when they attempted.'

[5] Dependent on *nisi quis credere potest.*

gloriae illorum per virtutem partae, cum sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosae causam esse sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem expectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. Ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus;[1] ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt. Dies noctesque aliquot obsessi vallum armis, se ipsi[2] tutati vallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique, cum omnia subsidia vitae abessent affectisque fame viribus arma jam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis victi sunt. Orto sole hostis ad vallum accessit; ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos. Haec vobis[3] ipsorum per biduum militia fuit. Cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, tum in castra refugerunt; cum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Vos redimam? cum erumpere castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; cum manere, castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, Patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui per medios hostes e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriae restituerunt.'

61. Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam Patrum quoque plerosque[4] captivi cognatione attingebant, praeter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos jam inde antiquitus[5] indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines movit, qua nec aerarium exhaurire, magna jam summa erogata[6] in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem maxime hujusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem locupletari[7] volebant. Cum triste responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset, novusque super veterem luctus tot jactura civium adjectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibusque legatos ad portam

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[1] Supply here, for the sake of the connection, 'but it may be said;' Latin *at enim*.

[2] Properly *se ipsos;* but when the subject and object of an action are the same, the Latin idiom is fond of giving prominence to the former. Zumpt, § 696.

[3] *Dativus commodi,* 'for you.' *Gram.* § 261.

[4] *Plerique* seems to have here as frequently (see xxi. 1) the sense of 'very many.' Zumpt, § 109, note.

[5] See *Gram.* § 220. The idea of 'from,' implied in the adverb, accounts for the addition of *inde;* which, however, is not common.

[6] See chap. 23, p. 296, note 5.

[7] It might also have been *locupletare*, and according to our feelings, we should prefer the active; but *volo*, followed by an accusative with the infinitive passive, is a very common construction.

prosecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra jurejurando se exsolvisset.[1] Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

Est et alia de captivis fama, decem primos venisse; de eis cum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem nec ne, ita admissos esse, ne[2] tamen iis senatus daretur. Morantibus deinde longius omnium spe, alios tres insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium. Tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et novos legatos tres ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsolvissent. De iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis qui dedendos censuerint. Ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac publico caruerint. Mirari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores,[3] quam quid veri sit discernere queas.

Quanto autem major ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel fides indicat sociorum, quae ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere autem ad Poenos hi populi, Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani, praeter hos Uxentini[4] et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique[5] et Cisalpini omnes Galli.

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[1] As to this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 354; and as to the fact alluded to in the text, compare chap. 58.

[2] *Ita*, 'with the proviso' *ne—daretur*, 'that an audience of the senate was not to be granted them.'

[3] 'One can rather wonder that there is such a discrepancy of statement among the historians, than decide what is the truth.' For we say either *discrepant auctores;* or, impersonally, *discrepat inter auctores*. As to the statement, compare Cicero *de officiis*, iii. 32.

[4] Uxentum was a town in Calabria, the south-eastern district of Italy. *Surrentini*, the reading in the editions, is incorrect; for Surrentum was a town on the Bay of Naples, and could not possibly desert to Hannibal at this time.

[5] These four Greek colonies did not throw off the Roman alliance immediately after the battle of Cannae. Tarentum, indeed, did not fall into Hannibal's hands till the year 212 B.C.; that is, four years afterwards. *Defecere*, therefore, must here be understood rather

Nec tamen eae clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt ut pacis usquam[1] mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum, nec postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptae cladis. Quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cujus ipse causa maxima fuisset,[2] redeunti et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit, et gratiae actae, quod de re publica non desperasset; cui, si Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.[3]

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of a decided inclination to leave the Carthaginians than an actual revolt.

[1] That is, either in the senate or the popular assembly.

[2] 'Though he had himself been. *Gram.* § 360, 6, note 3.

[3] The imperfect for the pluperfect. See *Gram.* § 345, note.

FINIS.

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